SHAPING PHILANTHROPY FOR CHINESE DIASPORA IN SINGAPORE AND BEYOND: FAMILY, ANCESTRY, IDENTITY, SOCIAL NORMS

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For Charles, who has been with me throughout the course of this journey.

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SHAPING PHILANTHROPY FOR CHINESE DIASPORA IN SINGAPORE AND BEYOND: FAMILY, ANCESTRY, IDENTITY, SOCIAL NORMS

This study analyzes 21 high and ultra-high-net-worth data points whose entities migrated from mainland China into Southeast Asia, and now, with their descendants, have settled in Singapore. Though removed from China over generations, they still retain a continuum of evolved values that were germinated from Confucian morals, rituals, and values — more popularly recognized as Chineseness. This study investigates these traditions, ethos, and value systems through the lens of philanthropy.

The principal results and conclusions are: 1) Due to push and pull factors, millions of Chinese migrants fanned out into the Nanyang (Southeast Asia) from mid-1800s to the late 1900s. The first-generation diasporic Chinese (G1) left China with a sojourner mentality. Hence their early philanthropic action mirrored sojourners' mindsets and pointed their giving back to China, the motherland. 2) As Chinese diaspora and their ethnic Chinese descendants (G2, G3, G4) eventually settled as nationals into various countries of Southeast Asia, new hybrid Chinese identities emerged. 3) Their Confucian Chinese values were confronted and severely tested – very often remolded and evolved as they assimilated, acculturated, and converged with social norms dictated by local indigenous cultures, and political, social, and economic circumstances of the times.

4) Confucian values — honoring the family name and continuing the ancestral lineage — behest multi-generations to stick together in strength. With self-help and mutual aid philanthropy, they thrived in the Nanyang. Very soon, Chinese diaspora's economic success propelled them into leadership. As leaders of local communities, their

loyalties, generosity, and philanthropic action shifted as new generations, locally born, begin to identify as nationals of these countries and engender gratitude to where they built their wealth. Eventually, generosity to China by follow-on generations pulled back or ceased. 5) In philanthropy, the age-old values of family, ancestry, humility, and benevolence now give younger generations of ethnic Chinese pride and purpose to give outside of the traditional familial lines to create opportunities and transform lives in the communities where they work and live – including public good for the countries where they operate their businesses in Southeast Asia and beyond.

Dwight F. Burlingame, PhD, Chair

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TERMINOLOGY

Chinese diaspora: Refers to the mass migration from China to Southeast Asia beginning in the nineteenth century.

Diasporic Chinese: Herein refers to people born in China (also referred to as G1) who were associated with the nineteenth-century mass migration from China to Southeast Asia. G1 carried the seeds of the philanthropic values that came from Confucianism. As sojourners, they were loyal to their motherland China.

Ethnic Chinese: People born outside China (G2, G3, G4, and so forth) and have either one or two diasporic Chinese (G1) parents or ancestors.

Guanxi: Loosely translated as "network" or "connection," *guanxi* is literally the combination of the words guan (关) and xi (系), meaning, respectively, "closed" and "connection," implying a close relationship between two people but also a closed relationship. Therefore, in order to be accepted into an existing *guanxi*, one must gain the trust of its members, but doing so takes time and commitment to a long-term mindset. The importance of *guanxi* in China needs to be understood in the historical framework of a traditionally rural society where for centuries formal institutions and laws were lacking, making it essential to rely on personal relationships for business, home, and social life.

Nanyang: (Chinese: 南洋) This term means "Southern Ocean" when directly translated. It is a Sino-centric Chinese term for the warm and fertile geographical region south of China, otherwise known as the "South Sea" or Southeast Asia.

Nationals: Chinese people who become acculturated into the country of settlement, who see themselves as nationals of their local communities, who in general no longer use Mandarin or Chinese dialects, and who see themselves first as Thais, Filipinos, Indonesians, Singaporeans, Vietnamese, and so on, rather than as Chinese.

Overseas Chinese: The overarching term for diasporic Chinese, ethnic Chinese, and more (over the years, different authors have used various terms).

Peranakan: These are the descendants of Chinese immigrants who intermarried with local non-Muslim women from Malaysia (Malacca, Penang, and Terengganu), Indonesia, and Burma in the fifteenth century. The Peranakan community is unique to Southeast Asia, and the people are commonly referred to as Babas, Nonyas/Nyonyas, Bibiks, Straits-Chinese/Straits-born Chinese, or Pashu. The Peranakan culture (language, food, clothing, traditions) evolved with the assimilation of Chinese and local Malay or Indonesian communities' way of life.

UHNW: Ultra high-net-worth individuals with US$30 million or more in net worth.

CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

Ultra high-net-worth (UHNW) donors are no longer centered only in the United States and Europe. According to the Billionaire Census 2018, the total billionaire population in Asia now stands at 784 individuals, overtaking North America's billionaire population (727) for the first time. This increase was the largest in the Asia-Pacific region (+29%), ahead of the Americas (+11%) and Europe, the Middle East, and Africa, or EMEA, (+9%).[1] The World Bank expects that the six major emerging economies (Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, South Korea, and Russia) will account for more than half of all global growth by 2025.[2] Entrepreneurs are not the only ones to be excited by emerging markets; similarly, the interests of nonprofits raising private support and seeking new sources of funds are also piqued. It was not so long ago that emerging economies were beneficiaries of philanthropy, but now they are able to contribute to philanthropy.[3]

Academic research, however, has not paid enough attention to how high-net-worth individuals outside the United States and the United Kingdom make decisions or what shapes these decisions. There is scarce literature examining UNHW giving, not only from cultural, moral, and emotive perspectives but also in terms of the socioeconomic landscape, legal infrastructure, and civil society ecosystem, all of which are often driven by political ideologies, historical perspectives, and religious impulses that work in

[1] Wealth-X, "Global Billionaire Population: The Billionaire Census 2018," May 15, 2018, 1, https://www.wealthx.com/report/the-wealth-x-billionaire-census-2018.
[2] Richard Michon and Atul Tandon, "Emerging Philanthropy Markets," *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* 17, no. 4 (November 1, 2012): 352–62, https://doi.org/10.1002/nvsm.1435.
[3] Michon and Tandon, 353.

concert to trigger multi-million-dollar gifts. Even within the United States, industry leaders have called out for the need to be attentive to the various nuances required to work with nontraditional constituents in the giving world in view of fast-changing demographics: “The country is changing, but fundraising isn’t," said Dennis McCarthy, a Blackbaud official who has been following the demographic characteristics of giving.[4] The changing demographics are not confined to cultural norms; they also encompass the number of female billionaires (worldwide), which rose by 18 percent in 2017, outpacing the 14.5-percent growth of the male billionaire population and increasing the female share of the global billionaire population to 11.7 percent, which came from both inheritance and self-made wealth.[5]

Most academic literature continues to focus on the United States, though there is emerging interest in cross-national and non-Western philanthropy at the Center for Philanthropic Studies at VU University Amsterdam, and Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy (Million Dollar List reports).[6] There are few forays into million-dollar gifts because the barrier to entry is largely the availability of data, more specifically, reliable data. The latter echoes the key challenges identified in the previous paragraph.

The popular “7 Faces of Philanthropy” in fundraising practice has been in existence since the 1970s and has been used in fundraising of major gifts in the United States and the Western world. More recently, the Global Philanthropy Environment Index

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[4] Holy Hall, “Charities Lose Big Revenue by Ignoring Minorities, Study Suggests,” *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*, March 4, 2015, https://philanthropy.com/article/Charities-Lose-Big-Revenue-by/228127.
[5] “Global Billionaire Population: The Billionaire Census 2018,” 1.
[6] Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, *Million Dollar List 2012 - Scaling Philanthropy*, http://www.milliondollarlist.org/about (accessed January 13, 2016); René Bekkers and Pamala Wiepking, “Eight Mechanisms That Drive Charitable Giving,” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 2010, http://nvs.sagepub.com/content/early/2010/09/08/0899764010380927.abstract.

(GPEI) at the IU Lilly Family School of Philanthropy has helped to shed light on why there is not a parallel increase in HNW giving from the rapid increase in HNW and UHNW populations from Asia and the Pacific Rim. The GPEI suggests that to improve the global state of giving, it is crucial to understand the factors that enhance or hinder its success, and these include each country's unique political, sociocultural, and legal and regulatory environment.[7] In addition, the global state of giving is also affected by political differences such as vestiges of colonial ties, corruption, legal systems, and local/ethnic hostilities toward "outsiders." Moreover, there are economic dissimilarities such as consumers' disposable income, economic resources, financial and talent infrastructures, intermediaries, and civil society ecosystems.[8] The tendency is to be much less culture-bound once outside the United States; however, when discussing philanthropy outside of the United States, most US literature conveniently lumps these factors under "culture of philanthropy."

Therefore, it is both reasonable and important to focus on research that seeks to understand how UHNW donors forge their value systems in the context of such diverse elements in their local environment, especially how such individuals outside the United States and Europe are rapidly gathering great wealth and are forging value systems that shape their philanthropic actions within the context of the times and under diverse economic and political environments, norms, beliefs, and traditions.

[7] Lilly Family School of Philanthropy Family School of Philanthropy *Global Philanthropy Indices*, https://globalindices.iupui.edu (accessed July 28, 2018).
[8] Michon and Tandon, 354.

Study Purpose and Motivation

The purpose of this study is to develop an understanding of how UHNW diasporic Chinese and ethnic Chinese individuals engage in philanthropy based on their value systems within the context of the previously mentioned diverse, preexisting environmental structures, but with a focus on UHNW diasporic Chinese families and individuals who have set up residence in Singapore and in the region. A deep understanding of the cultural and noncultural elements that impact philanthropic actions would give confidence to the many parties who help mobilize the vast resources of UHNW individuals for the *Greater Good*.

Philanthropy professionals who are directly charged with facilitating the generosity of UHNW individuals include fundraisers, stewardship managers, institutional and nonprofit leaders, and staff and volunteers involved in the delivery of funded programs. These groups, together with social entrepreneurs, multisector collaborators, partners, and intermediaries — government sector, policy agencies, advocacy groups, and social change agencies — form the key players in the philanthropy ecosystem for UHNW giving.

Academic literature that directly links the diasporic Chinese to philanthropy is almost nonexistent. This particular gap in research literature is best described by Mark Sidel: “Today, there is still little understanding of the generosity and benevolence of ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia, and especially with regards to their philanthropy in

advancing the communities that have become the new home to their families and younger generations."[9]

Deep understanding of the ethos and inner workings of UHNW diasporic Chinese and ethnic Chinese individuals is a precursor to understanding their giving motivations and behaviors. The work of professionals will be hindered if they lack a fundamental appreciation of how the philanthropic habits of these individuals developed over time[10] — for example, how their values guide them to enter philanthropy, what are the critical junctures in the development of their philanthropy in the context of the overall *zeitgeist* or spirit of the times, and how their philanthropic aspirations and mindset evolve as they get older (and wealthier).

Currently, there are critical gaps in the research and academic literature needed to support or guide those facilitating ethnic Chinese UHNW philanthropy in Southeast Asia and beyond.

Study Significance

This study situates and contributes to an in-depth understanding of how value systems and charitable traditions of first-generation diasporic Chinese evolved and are transmitted to next generations of locally born ethnic Chinese, especially since the later generations operate within social norms and settings that are vastly different from the earlier cohorts of the Chinese diaspora. Previous research has also found that people are influenced by social norms — that is, behaviors that are common, valued, and accepted

[9] Mark Sidel, "A Decade of Research and Practice of Diaspora Philanthropy in the Asia Pacific Region: The State of the Field," *University of Iowa Legal Studies Research Paper*, no. 08–09 (2008): 28–29, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1127237.
[10] P. J. Beaverstock, "Getting Away with It? The Changing Geographies of the Global Super-Rich," *GaWC Research Bulletin* 93 (n.d.), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2004.03.001, (accessed April 3, 2016).

by others — and can change over time.[11] This study also investigates how more recent ethnic Chinese who have become transnational with multiple, flexible identities participate in philanthropy — that is, how their value systems and identities shape their philanthropic decisions.

This dissertation is built on and extends beyond the current research on the Chinese diaspora. The goal is to help clarify the philanthropic actions of diasporic Chinese individuals and families in Southeast Asia, with a focus on Singapore. Specifically, the study examines how values, religious morals, cultural traditions, identities, and social norms might have shaped the philanthropic action — including volunteerism, public welfare, and giving of money or provision of services and amenities like hospitals, schools, and cultural activities — of diasporic Chinese and ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia.[12]

Confucius had a very strong hand in molding the value system of Chinese heritage with the result that each generation bore a personal moral responsibility (not just based on a legal or societal social norm) to carry on the benevolence, beneficence, and philanthropic action in honor of the family name. In doing so, the Chinese people partake in philanthropic action and reach out to help others charitably, contributing their own mark to the ancestral line, and upholding the values of compassion, generosity, gratitude, and benevolence.

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[11] Debra Mesch, "Encouraging Giving to Women's and Girls' Causes: The Role of Social Norms," Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, 2018, 5, https://philanthropy.iupui.edu/institutes/womens-philanthropy-institute/research/social-norms.html.

[12] Elizabeth Sinn, ed., *The Last Half Century of Chinese Overseas* (Aberdeen: Hong Kong University Press, 1998); Chee-Beng Tan et al., eds., *Chinese Overseas: Migration, Research and Documentation* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2007); Gungwu Wang, *The Chinese Overseas: From Earthbound China to the Quest for Autonomy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Research Questions

This study's major research question is: How do value systems — over generations, and in the context of the different times in different countries — shape the philanthropic action of the diasporic Chinese in Southeast Asia?

These are the sub-questions:

1. What were lived histories of the diasporic Chinese? What were their life experiences, social norms and social policy, traditions, and cultural purpose in terms of philanthropy?
2. What compelled them to engage in philanthropic action? Why did they do so?
3. How did they carry out their philanthropy? How did they allocate their giving?
4. What were their concept and definition of philanthropy?
5. Did their value systems shape their philanthropy, and to what extent did social norms or social policy at the local context affect their philanthropy?
6. How were these philanthropic traditions passed on to next generations?
7. How are philanthropic decisions of first-generation diasporic Chinese and their descendants shaped differently?

Researcher Bias

As the researcher of this study, I am an experienced fundraising professional and have been working in the fundraising and development profession since 1994 in varying capacities, including frontline fundraising, development, advancement in higher education, and management in arts organizations. Currently employed as Senior Director of International Development at the University of California, Davis, I have previously worked at Nanyang Technological University, Northern Kentucky University, Chatfield

College, RISE Learning Solutions, Cincinnati Ballet, Kokomo Symphony Orchestra, Vocal Arts Ensemble of Cincinnati, and Singapore Symphony Orchestra. In 2014, I received a full scholarship from the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy to pursue a PhD in philanthropy and, in that context, was a graduate assistant with the school's international programs for two years. There, I developed an interest in understanding the values, morals, traditions, and social norms that motivate giving and philanthropic action in the widest sense.

Based on the preceding experiences, it is likely that I may not be totally unbiased in observations about various elements that make up the objectives of this study. My direct experience in frontline fundraising on the ground may put me in a position to perceive through a practitioner's lens, because there's no absolute certainty that a practitioner's lens can be switched off totally. However, the same probable researcher bias and practitioner lens are somewhat mitigated by the fact that I have been in a wide variety of roles in this field (including being an active volunteer with the Council for the Advancement of Education, CASE) over a continuous twenty-five-year span. The broad range of roles has given me an awareness that there are many lenses through which philanthropy, fundraising, development, advancement, and nonprofit management can be perceived and assessed. These various lenses, especially at a "helicopter view," were always in my mind during this study. This perspective helps to even out or mitigate researcher bias. Additionally, I have triangulated these lenses against each other to achieve due diligence for a balanced and nuanced perspective. Thus, I have fully embraced possible bias and in full awareness, taken into consideration all aspects in the process of this dissertation.

Research Design and Methodology

This dissertation is a qualitative inductive research study. The research design was based on the outcomes of a pilot study that utilized Singapore as a field site in April and May of 2016. Key objectives of the pilot were to provide insight on design of the research study; to be informed whether conditions, realities, and state of readiness at the field site were best matched for an ethnographic study, a case study, or a grounded theory method; and to determine whether a survey instrument would be useful to complement the core study.

The pilot study confirmed that data collection would utilize semi-structured interviews and lived histories as the core method for data collection. Participants could be nationals of any Southeast Asian country who reside in Singapore either permanently or occasionally. Singapore was chosen as it is the strategic business confluence and residence of choice for a significant number of ultra high-net-worth ethnic Chinese individuals. The pilot confirmed that Singapore provided ample context and rigor as the base to understand the larger Southeast Asian Chinese diaspora. The target population would be philanthropists who had given US$250,000 or more and who came from philanthropic families with a history of philanthropic action (donations, volunteerism, mutual aid, generosity, beneficence). The anticipated number of participants to be interviewed was set at approximately twenty to twenty-five, or until saturation.

Purposeful sampling, snowball sampling, and theoretical sampling were used throughout the study. Access to archives, historical documents, giving records (past and present), public records of archival material, and artifacts from interviewees were sought

for triangulation, though they were not always available. Field notes, journals, and memos were used for reflexivity, self-reflection, and bias.

The grounded theory research method was conceived for this study — process-driven to understand the "how do" part of the research question — with a constructivist worldview and a theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism developed by Herbert George Mead and his prodigy Herbert Blumer. Derived from early thinkers of pragmatism, namely Charles Pierce, William James, and John Dewey, symbolic interactionism is a perspective that sees people as active beings engaged in practical activities in their worlds and emphasizes how people accomplish these activities.[13] Symbolic interactionism assumes that society, including language and culture, precedes the individual with continuous reciprocal processes occurring between the individual collectively and the environment.[14] However, in view of the highly private nature of the UHNW individuals and families interviewed, it did not turn out to be convenient to directly observe their day-to-day lifestyles or interactions with other people.

Epistemologically, the constructivist worldview has the researcher stand within the research process rather than above, outside, or before it — in reflexive interaction with data in coding — and the constant comparison technique fosters making abstract interpretations of the data in order to find emerging concepts or categories.[15] The latter leads to theoretical sampling for saturation (sampling that supports emerging theoretical constructs) and abduction (logical inference) and allows theoretical sensitivity (insights into context and data from literature or experience) to lend its strength to the emergence

[13] Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2014).
[14] Charmaz.
[15] Antony Bryant and Kathy Charmaz, *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2010).

of the theoretical framework.[16] Because of the prohibitive cost of traveling to Asia from the United States and the challenges of getting appointments with UHNW individuals, the time between data collection, analysis, and writing did not permit a pure grounded theory method to be employed. An anthropological interpretation of the collected data was more pragmatic and could be completed more readily. Validation strategies included the researcher's reflections, which were triangulated with documentation of feelings, emotions, and potential bias through extensive journaling of memos.

It should also be noted that almost all interviewees requested that their identities be kept confidential and that no attention be drawn toward them. Hence the names of interviewees are expressed as data points and are numbered as Data1, Data5, Data18, and so on. In keeping with the preference for confidentiality and privacy, no bios that introduce the participants of the study are included in this dissertation. On several occasions, the same quotations (verbatim) have been used to highlight different aspects of the dissertation's narrative. While repeating the quotes verbatim may seem repetitive, it was done to ensure that the powerful thoughts, views, and insights expressed by the interviewees were not lost and were effectively communicated. Certain quotes were so poignant and dynamic that they needed to be reiterated in order to shed light on different or fresh angles.

Research Limitations and Delimitations

A key limitation of this study was the long period that it covered, that is, three to four generations of diasporic Chinese and their descendants who have themselves gone through rapid evolution and acculturation. Hence there was a need to view things in

[16] Bryant and Charmaz.

context. While this approach provided a broad overview and general bird's-eye view of the subject matter, it did not allow the inclusion of some previously planned details.

In addition, the migration of the diasporic Chinese out of China spanned arrivals in several countries (with vastly different cultures), and hence volunteer or philanthropic behaviors may not be generalizable, except when looking at very broad patterns, which are expressed in the theoretical framework that emerged (outlined in Chapter Four).

Another significant limitation was the size of the sampled pool, that is, twenty-one data points. Three data points came strictly from published material that included memoirs, biographies, journals, and feature articles. Nineteen participants participated in unstructured interviews (one of the data points had a brother and sister pair interviewed together).

During research readings, two collective giving groups (as opposed to individual philanthropists) became apparent and were deemed to be of vital historical philanthropic significance. These two collective giving groups are the sisterhoods of the *Sor Hei* that led to the recognition of working-class Chinese women in philanthropy, and the fundraising campaign by diasporic Chinese that led to the founding of Nanyang University in 1955 – the first Chinese university established outside China. These two groups of collective philanthropic endeavors are not included in the twenty-one data points, though some individuals examined in this study as data points gave to this campaign. These two collective giving endeavors are brought to attention in the dissertation to highlight the extent of the philanthropic action of the diasporic Chinese and their sophisticated mobilization in the context of their times.

A significant number of interviewees spoke from personal memories and oral histories passed down by their elders about revered or honored founding philanthropists in their families. Attempts were made to verify this information through triangulation with archived and documented materials (from their family records or public libraries); however, only very few families had such materials. While not a serious limitation, this restriction should be noted as it requires the researcher to be aware of the discrepancies that might arise in view of different platforms and types of material when making comparisons or during data analysis.

Finally, as a first attempt to dive into the value systems of Chinese diaspora philanthropists, this study does not profess to be the definitive pathway of Chinese diaspora philanthropy. Instead, this study calls out and brings attention to the rich values, such as benevolence, beneficence, and philanthropic action, that were already embedded in the Chinese heritage and culture when it fanned out into the Nanyang.

Dissertation Overview

Chapter One introduces the topic and the study, providing an overview of how this study sits in the context of philanthropy and addresses the study's purpose, motivation, significance, and research questions. It briefly addresses the problem statement, highlighting the dearth of academic research on understanding values, morals, cultural traditions, social norms, and identities as the foundational elements that have shaped the philanthropic action of the diasporic Chinese in Southeast Asia. Chapter One also reflects on the research method, researcher bias, limitations, and delimitations of the study.

Chapter Two comprises the literature review, which provides a background for the historical context of the key constituent of this study, that is, the diasporic Chinese who emigrated from China in the early 1900s. The chapter analyzes the literature in terms of themes, trends, and gaps. Finally, Chapter Two surveys the literature on value systems, identities, and social norms.

Chapters Three and Four share the data collected, the analysis of the data, and the summaries of the findings, which are grouped into categories and subcategories, from which a theoretical framework emerges.

The findings in Chapter Three relate to the underpinnings that molded the diasporic Chinese identity within the context of ancestry, from which germinated philanthropic values that promoted aspirations for the *Greater Good*. In fact, Chinese generosity had long been built into the familial, moral, and ancestral fabric of the unending human chain and cyclical evolutionary nature of each generation. The diasporic Chinese G1 generation carried these Confucian philanthropic seeds with them when they fanned out into Southeast Asia for survival during the turbulent times of the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s in China.

Chapter Four presents a theoretical framework that emerged from the grounded data. It represents the process that birthed philanthropy over generations of the Chinese diaspora in the Nanyang — manifested in an aspirational, stepladder approach toward actualization of the family and ancestry (as opposed to self-actualization). For each generation, philanthropy continues to be reshaped and sustained in a self-looping fashion that constantly seeks balance and harmony.

Chapter Five, the final chapter, begins with a comparative analysis of the interviewees' rich expressions of the juxtaposition between philanthropic action in Asia and the West/United States in terms of values, worldviews, and ethos. Asian philanthropists acknowledge the need for flexibility in adapting and modifying Western models to fit local culture and context. The "Discussion and Implications" section discusses anticipated and emerging issues and looks at how even ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia or Asia have differences on some of the issues but, at the same time, are bound by common ties.

While wealth and the interest in philanthropic action are not lacking, the challenges ahead are not for the fainthearted. Asia is culturally varied with a complex fabric of local diversities in terms of different orientations in administration, education, trade, currency, shipping (vestiges of British, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish colonization). In addition, its civic sector for social delivery programs is nascent and is made more stifling by an ambiguous legal infrastructure for charitable organizations and a nonprofit ecosystem that is embryonic and emerging. This final chapter also makes recommendations for future research and concludes with brief closing remarks.

CHAPTER TWO:
LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical Context: Chinese Diaspora Migration into Southeast Asia

The largest Chinese migration took place in the late nineteenth century, with four out of five (80%) Chinese migrants settling in Southeast Asia or the Nanyang, the lands bordering the seas south of China.[1] Various "push and pull" factors converged with the context of the times to make these regions viable and lucrative choices for millions of Chinese who originally sought to live overseas only temporarily as sojourners with an intention to return to China someday.[2] First, the push factors. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, China was fraught with civil strife as a result of the transition from the Ming dynasty to the Qing or Manchu dynasty.[3] In addition, two Opium Wars over trading rights between Great Britain, France, and China served to weaken the Qing dynasty.[4]

Rampant corruption, deceit, and imperial "politics" strangled the young Emperor Puyi from inside the walls of the "Forbidden City" where he resided. Following the two Opium Wars, a series of internal rebellions and conflicts further eroded local government. As complex internal events and forces on the ground drove out centuries of dynastic rule and brought feudal society to an end, Puyi became the last of China's emperors. This was followed by civil wars between the Kuomingtang (KMT) and Chinese Communist Party (CCP), and the Japanese conflict of 1937 leading to the Second Sino-Japanese War. Following that, a protracted civil war between the KMT and CCP continued until the

[1] Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 15.
[2] Leo Suryadinata, *Understanding the Ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007), 1–7.
[3] Purcell, 24
[4] Purcell, 28–30.

CCP emerged victorious with Chairman Mao Zedong establishing the People's Republic of China on October 1949.[5]

During this period of the early 1900s in China, lawlessness was rife, taxes and levies were inordinately high, floods and famines abounded, and the population was crowding out arable land.[6] Agriculture was unsustainable from year to year, with the sown area increasing only 1 percent, while the rural population increased more than 30 percent, thus leading to famine after famine.[7] Millions of hapless peasants slid into a state of mass pauperization. There was little hope of staving off famine, starvation, and death. Emigration was the only recourse for millions of people.[8]

At the same time, there were strong pull factors that played an important role in attracting large numbers of Chinese emigrants into Southeast Asia. By the end of the Qing dynasty in 1912, peasants from the provinces of Fujian, Guangdong, and Hainan got wind of Europe's colonial masters' demand for cheap labor to develop and exploit raw materials.[9] The Industrial Revolution had reached new heights in the capitalist countries of Europe, and the desire for raw materials played a decisive role for many of the European nations that turned to colonization to acquire the materials.[10] Under the British East India Company, Great Britain colonized the islands and coastal areas of Penang, Singapore, and Malacca and subsequently expanded "British protection" or colonial rule

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[5] History.com, *Last Emperor of China Abdicates*, 2010, http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/last-emperor-of-china-abdicates (accessed December 20, 2015).
[6] Thomas Tsu-ee Tan, *Chinese Dialect Groups: Traits and Trades* (Singapore: Opinion Books, 1990), 45–50.
[7] N. A. Simoniia, *Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, a Russian Study*, Cornell University. Southeast Asia Program. Data Paper, no. 45 (Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, Dept. of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, 1961), 1.
[8] Tan, 13.
[9] Nick Young and June Shih, "The Chinese Diaspora and Philanthropy," *Harvard University Global Equity Initiative* 3 (2003): 4, https://www.infra.cbd.int/financial/charity/china-diaspora.pdf.
[10] Simoniia, 13.

to the Malay states as tin mining and rubber plantations in Malay boomed, followed quickly by a rise in demand for pineapple, sugar cane, tea, and other cash crops.[11]

Simultaneously, the flourishing spice trade under the Dutch presence in the East Indies opened many settlements in Batavia (now Indonesia). Most significantly, Singapore was a very strategic port at the tip of the Malay Peninsula for the handling, storing, sorting, and processing of commodities and resources such as rubber, tin, tobacco, rice, copra, pepper, gambier, and other spices demanded by the West.[12] Singapore also served as the major port through which the flow of indentured labor (from China and India) was distributed to other parts of Southeast Asia, and many returned to Singapore after they completed their labor contracts.[13]

Adding to the push and pull factors were unexpected unprecedented historical events inside China from 1949 to 1978. Choked by the massive failure of Chairman Mao's Great Leap Forward, followed by the Cultural Revolution, China's production and economic system came to a standstill, and it retreated into isolation with a closed-door policy that destabilized daily sociocultural conditions in communist-controlled China. This forced the millions of diasporic Chinese sojourners in the Nanyang from returning to their motherland, and soon they birthed new generations of people who embraced Southeast Asia and the surrounding region as their home. Hence their descendants, though ethnically Chinese, were raised as nationals of the Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Myanmar and Laos, Indonesia, and Timor-Lester.[14] This is the turbulent context and wider population universe of my dissertation

[11] Tan, *Chinese Dialect Groups*, 28.
[12] Tan, 29.
[13] Tan, 33.
[14] Leo Suryadinata, 1.

research, that is, the shrinking pool of the original migrant diasporic Chinese (G1) and the growing numbers of first, second, and third generations of ethnic Chinese offspring (G2, G3, G4, and after) who were born as nationals of the various Southeast Asian countries mentioned above. The term "ethnic Chinese" is used to differentiate the "offspring generations" (born in Southeast Asia, G2, G3, G4, and after) from the original diasporic Chinese (G1) who came to the Nanyang from China.

Today, over twenty-four million diasporic Chinese and ethnic Chinese are spread across Southeast Asia, in the Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Myanmar and Laos, Indonesia, and Timor-Leste.[15] Southeast Asia, with its diverse ethnic communities has two millennia of active cross-state and cross-cultural historical development.[16] Moreover, five non-Asian colonial powers ruled the region at various times in the twentieth century: the British in Myanmar, Malaysia, and Singapore; the Dutch in Indonesia; the French in Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam; the Americans in the Philippines; and the Portuguese in East Timor. Only Thailand managed to remain free from being colonized. Thus, the different orientations of each of these colonies in terms of administration, education, trade, currency, shipping, and more, are of no surprise. They add to the already complex fabric of local diversities in Southeast Asia.[17]

Themes, Trends, and Gaps

After the fanning out of tens of millions of Chinese from mainland China into the Nanyang, the diasporic Chinese uncannily emerged to be among the wealthiest people in

[15] Young and Shih, 5.
[16] D. R. SarDesai, *Southeast Asia, Past & Present*, 4th ed. (Boulder: WestviewPress, 1997).
[17] SarDesai. Kindle Loc 136-193

their newly adopted homes.[18] Researchers have been keen to examine the cultural attributes behind these migrants' survival and entrepreneurial economic success. This leads to the first theme of the reviewed literature and scholarship, which relates to how entrepreneurial skills and innate business acumen have contributed to the economics and financial empires of Chinese tycoons.[19] To this end, most of the reviewed literature and scholarship express understanding of the Chinese entrepreneurs' behavior in business acquisitions, risk taking, and economic decisions, and postulate the ethnic Chinese population's success in business in Southeast Asia.[20] As an ethnic minority in their new host countries, the diasporic Chinese and the ethnic Chinese tended to be very clannish. When they perceived their identities to be threatened, they "herded" together in self-help to uplift each other in business. They used ethnic networks and partnerships to promote economic interests, allowing them to thrive and flourish in capitalistic economies.[21] Did economic success and the accumulation of wealth lead to giving and philanthropy? Research has not yet delved into this area of interest.

A second major theme studied was Confucianism, arguably the fundamental and chief foundation for the Chinese work ethic and the underpinning of the social cohesion and growth of diasporic communities.[22] Confucianism was the basis for the intense effort of the ethnic Chinese to honor their family and ancestors in business, in education, and pervasively in all matters of work and living. This perspective is also associated with the cultural trait of not "losing face" or bringing disgrace to the ancestral lineage.[23]

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[18] George T. Haley, Usha C. V. Haley, and Chin Tiong Tan, *New Asian Emperors: The Business Strategies of the Overseas Chinese* (Singapore: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 38–40.
[19] Suryadinata, *Understanding the Ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia*, 2007, 35–36.
[20] Suryadinata, 41.
[21] Suryadinata, 44.
[22] Suryadinata, 42.
[23] Suryadinata, 42.

Confucianism also engendered the core "family" values, for example, family hierarchies and roles, filial piety, respect for seniority and elders, reverence for teachers, and state-family relationships. Although research has delved into how Confucianism was linked with business success and survival in varied geographies of the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia, there is no significant mention of its influence on philanthropy in the existing literature.

The third theme is *guanxi*, where scholarly studies have vigorously reported on how to do business with ethnic Chinese individuals and groups and especially understanding of the concept of *guanxi* and the complex trail of reciprocity that comes with it.[24] Personal relationships and connections *(guanxi*) carried more weight than formal, institutional, contractual, or legal relationships in Chinese culture and society.[25] Too often, Western critics confuse *guanxi* with corruption or mutual benefit/quid pro quo, without recognizing the complex traditions of reciprocity on which it is based or seeing it as a type of social capital accounting system that people consciously accumulate and draw upon.[26] Related to *guanxi*, researchers have also looked into how trust among the diasporic Chinese allowed the creation of loan and financial networks that led to an elaborate network of credit relations and credit societies that were all critical to the people's economic sophistication and their reputation of shrewdness in handling money, debt, and credit.[27] This economic credit gave them an advantage needed to excel in

[24] Yunxiang Yan, *The Flow of Gifts: Reciprocity and Social Networks in a Chinese Village* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1993), 22–25.
[25] Yan, 14–18.
[26] Young and Shih, "The Chinese Diaspora and Philanthropy."
[27] Chee-Beng Tan, *Chinese Overseas: Comparative Cultural Issues* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 178.

business.[28] The cultural trait of *guanxi* pervades every aspect of Chinese life and society, which is a compelling reason to study it within the context of giving and philanthropy.

The fourth theme is acculturation and assimilation. As these early batches of sojourner-style diasporic Chinese solidified their stakes in new lands, they sought to distinguish themselves from the Chinese in China, and together with their families, they also began to adapt and assimilate into the new communities that welcomed them. Therefore the fourth theme has several levels, for example, acculturation, identities, and assimilation of ethnic Chinese as settlers and citizens of the new lands.[29] Subthemes were also studied, for example, how new generations of ethnic Chinese acclimated to Western school systems and how their learning habits contributed to their success in education, where they continually outdid the local students.[30]

The fifth theme surrounds sociological studies that examined the Chinese diaspora as growing out of historical circumstances and the social and cultural experiences of the Southeast Asia region.[31] These phenomena, Clammer argues, integrate development studies and the effects of migration.[32] In view of the great diversity in Southeast Asia, Clammer suggests a need to draw in religion and kinship.[33] There were also structural shifts external to individuals that greatly affected social change, including the flourishing of laissez faire economies, colonization, communism and socialism, the cold war, and more.[34] Diverse social norms also converged upon previously mentioned thematic

[28] Tan, 178.
[29] Tan, 48–50; Tan, 107–9.
[30] Jennifer Lee and Min Zhou, *The Asian American Achievement Paradox* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2015), 161–162.
[31] John R. Clammer, *Diaspora and Identity: The Sociology of Culture in Southeast Asia* (Selangor: Pelanduk Publications Sdn Bhd, 2002), 11.
[32] Clammer, 12–13.
[33] Clammer, 14–15.
[34] Clammer, 16–18.

elements to gradually pull migrants away from traditional culture and push them into the mainstream local culture.[35] Were they then philanthropic toward the local communities that took them in? Or did they remain loyal to China? And Why? Research has yet to pay attention to these areas of philanthropic endeavor.

Thus, left unexplored is how these themes played a part in the context of philanthropy, that is, how they shaped philanthropic action of diasporic Chinese or ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia. This is where my dissertation situates and focuses.

Other scholars have researched a few "trends of note" about these themes. First, a significant number of the Chinese diaspora community tend not to give back to their country of origin due to a lack of trust, transparency, legal structures, nonprofit responses, and lack of reporting and recognition — not to mention the pervasiveness of government corruption and control.[36] Though China has no lack of poverty and other social issues, nonprofits had not done much to capture the imagination of the diasporic Chinese, who tended to dutifully send home remittances instead of thinking about such acts as being philanthropic.[37] Second, with market-based social impact finance models taking root in Asia, Chinese family-controlled businesses are increasingly using performance-based venture philanthropy to give them control of their investments and to increase spin-offs and business opportunities while participating in philanthropy.[38]

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[35] Kwok-Bun Chan, "A Family Affair : Migration, Dispersal, and the Emergent Identity of the Chinese Cosmopolitan," *Diaspora : A Journal of Transnational Studies* 6, no. 2 (1997) : 27–28, https://doi.org/10.1353/dsp.1997.0005.
[36] Sidel, 31–32.
[37] Nidhi Raj Kapoor, "Making a World of Difference: How BRICS Diaspora Give" (Maryland: The Resource Alliance, 2014), 11, https://www.google.com/webhp?sourceid=chrome-instant&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF-8#q=Making+A+World+Of+Difference%3A+How+BRICS+Diaspora+Give.
[38] Haley, Haley, and Tan, *New Asian Emperors*, 38–40.

Third, some studies suggest that diasporic Chinese and ethnic Chinese prefer giving to education — a feature of Confucian values and a fabric of Chinese society, with close links to respect for teachers and elders.[39] This emphasis on education appears to be a natural extension of Confucianism's long history of respect for scholarship and the belief that education has a causal effect on morality, the way to get ahead, peaceful societies, harmonious relationships, and reverence for teachers and mentors. Fourth, as minorities in new host countries, the diasporic Chinese formed clan societies based on dialects, for example, Hokkien Huay Kuan, Ngee Ann Kongsi, Singapore Kwang Tung Association, Nanyang Khek Community Guild, and Singapore Federation of Chinese Clan Associations (umbrella organization of 205 clan societies).[40] Fifth, *Philanthropy on the Road to Nationhood in Singapore*, published by the National University of Singapore's ACSEP, chronologically documents early charitable acts as part of nation building.[41] Nevertheless, there is still a dearth of scholarly material on how philanthropy takes place in a culturally appropriate manner in Southeast Asia.[42]

Value Systems, Identities, and Social Norms

Based on the research question for this dissertation, there are two sets of theoretical guiding posts: (1) forging of a personal value system and (2) convergence of social norms in the local context that gives way to hybrid identities.

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[39] Todd Lyle Sandel, Anna Wong Lowe, and Wen Yu Chao, "What Does It Mean to Be Chinese? Studying Values as Perceived by United States Chinese Immigrants and Their Children," 2012, 534–35, http://repository.umac.mo/handle/10692/441.
[40] Qinghuang. Yan, *The Ethnic Chinese in East and Southeast Asia: Business, Culture, and Politics* (Singapore: Times Academic Press, 2002), 78–85; Singapore Federation of Chinese Clan Associations, *About SFCCA*, https://www.sfcca.sg/en/aboutus (accessed November 26, 2015).
[41] Roshini Prakash, Roshini, and Tan, Pauline, "Philanthropy on the Road to Nationhood in Singapore," Philanthropy in Asia: Working Paper No. 1 (Singapore: National University of Singapore, ACSEP, 2015), http://bizblogs.nus.edu/acsep/2015/12/17/philanthropy-on-the-road-to-nationhood-in-singapore.
[42] Kwok-Bun Chan, 322.

With regard to the forging of a value system, the related literature suggests that no fixed principles exist by which we can evaluate what is moral or immoral, since the evolution of morality, like languages, is a result of customs that are specific to localities.[43] In 1906, William Graham Sumner of Yale University published *Folkways* in which he expounded, "World philosophy, life policy, right, rights, and morality are all products of the folkways."[44] Southeast Asian Scholar Leo Suryadinata believes that the rise of Chinese ethnicity has challenged the indigenous concept of some Southeast Asia nations, for example, Indonesia becoming more pluralistic. In countries where ethnic identity does not come into conflict with national identity (e.g., Singapore, Thailand, Philippines), the Chinese are accepted with no issues, but in countries where ethnicity and national identity are in conflict (e.g., Indonesia), the loyalty of the Chinese is under question.[45] Culture is constructed, and it is always relative to the context; hence culture is flexible as mores change over time. As culture shifts, so do ethical and moral bases.

Therefore, cultural relativism is a necessary moral stance.[46] Lawrence Kohlberg in *Stages of Moral Development* and later his student Carol Gilligan contributed "culturally" in terms of gender to the development of moral theory from both male and female points of view.[47]

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[43] Erwin W. Lutzer, *Measuring Morality: A Comparison of Ethical Systems*, 2nd ed. (Dallas: Probe Books, 1989), 17–18.
[44] William Graham Sumner, *Folkways*, Perennial Works in Sociology (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 76.
[45] Leo Suryadinata, *The Making of Southeast Asian Nations: State, Ethnicity, Indigenism and Citizenship.* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2015), 81.
[46] Lutzer, 19–20.
[47] Lawrence A. Blum, "Gilligan and Kohlberg: Implications for Moral Theory," *Ethics* 98, no. 3 (1988): 472–91; Lawrence Kohlberg, "Stages of Moral Development," *Moral Education*, 1971, 23–92; Carol Gilligan, "In a Different Voice: Women's Conceptions of Self and of Morality," *Harvard Educational Review* 47, no. 4 (1977): 481–517.

Sociologists have examined charitable giving in the context of lay morality, a term used by Sanghera, from her account of how Sayer characterizes lay morality (not in absolute measures) as a product of interacting elements in sociological studies: (1) moral sentiments that impact human flourishing and social suffering, (2) fellow-feelings as a precondition of everyday moral conduct and social interaction; moral dispositions that are learned and socialized, (3) moral norms like Christian tithing and Islam zakat, and (4) culturally mediating morality through stories, myths, fantasies, discourses, symbols; reflexivity ranging from intense and critical to informal and dreamlike.[48] In cross-cultural studies on white and black working and middle-class men, Lamont describes how they feel economically inferior (lacking money, status, and influence) but consider themselves to be morally superior because they make sacrifices for the family and value friendships over competition.[49]

Anthony Flew, author of *Evolutionary Ethics*, while agreeing with the existence and presence of values, believes it cannot explain their origin, their nature, or their base — I am back to a subjective standard with no viable moral criterion.[50] Thus the flexible nature of morals and ethics has made it possible for humanity to "self-correct," through reformers like Gandhi, Aung San Suu Kyi, and Martin Luther King, Jr., all of whom stepped out of their culture to oppose existing morals and take a stand against prevailing customs and mores.

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[48] Balihar Sanghera, "Charitable Giving and Lay Morality: Understanding Sympathy, Moral Evaluations and Social Positions," *The Sociological Review*, August 1, 2015, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12332; Andrew Sayer, "Class and Morality," in *Handbook of the Sociology of Morality*, ed. Steven Hitlin and Stephen Vaisey, Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research (New York: Springer, 2010), 163–78, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-6896-8_9.

[49] Michèle Lamont, *Money, Morals, and Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class*, Morality and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[50] Antony Flew, *Evolutionary Ethics*, New Studies in Ethics (London: Macmillan, 1967).

Consequential ethics point to John Stuart Mill's utilitarianism theory, where the principle of the "greatest happiness" (pleasure and exemption of pain for the most people) attempts to measure what is the most moral and ethical course of action.[51] Does this mean it is right to lie, cheat, steal, murder, be brutal, execute minorities, steal the land of farmers, allow soldiers to rape and rampage villagers in the name of "for the good of our country" so long as I have a valid consequence or outcome that pleases the most people (maximum happiness)? Behavioral scientists B. F. Skinner and Robert Trivers held the behaviorism view. This view comes from naturalism, which proposes that all our actions are the result of our genetic makeup and our environment.[52] Neurosurgeon Wilder Penfield concluded in *The Mystery of the Mind* that mind and brain are basically two separate elements rather than one.[53]

Therefore, behaviorism is also unable to build a theory of morality. David Hume, in *A Treatise of Human Nature,* advanced a theory of morality based on emotion as the sole factor in ethical decision-making.[54] British philosopher A. J. Ayer builds on Hume's emotive ethics and maintains that it is impossible to have a rational dispute about morals because ethical statements are merely expressions of individual feelings and do not meet the criteria of scientific statements.[55]

For example, take the statements "Stealing is wrong," which means nothing more than "I dislike stealing," and "Stealing is not right"; both are just statements, and they do not

[51] John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism,* Great Books in Philosophy (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1987).
[52] Lutzer, 45–46.
[53] W. Penfield, *The Mystery of the Mind*, Princeton Legacy Library (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 80.
[54] David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (New York: Barnes and Nobel, 2005).
[55] A. J. Ayer, *Language, Truth, and Logic* (New York: Dover Publications, 1952).

necessarily contradict each other.[56] To Ayer, moral judgements are "simply expressions of emotion."[57]

In 1980, the Center for Moral Education at Harvard University attempted an extensive research project called "The Measurement of Moral Judgement" in a longitudinal study over twenty-five years.[58] The research method for collecting the data for empirical analysis consisted of three components: (1) the standard moral interview, (2) "structural" interviewing techniques, and (3) the Standard Issue Scoring Manuals. Together with a theoretical framework of moral development theory, their results were presented in four volumes.[59] They developed a series of "Criterion Judgements" intercepting with norms to provide the basis for uniform scoring techniques.[60]

Getting to a satisfactory system of measurement for morals or a theory of ethics is proving to be an audacious task. Why is that so? Absolutes are hard, if not impossible, in terms of morality, ethics, and religion. John Dewey, who believed that morality could be placed on a scientific foundation, eventually changed his stance and held that there are no fixed or absolute values and asserted that no fixed standard exists by which actions can be judged.[61] This means that an act can be moral according to one standard and immoral according to another. The actual value of an action depends on whether it is a means to something else, that is, to an intrinsic value. Without the latter, there is no reason to make one choice over another.

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[56] Lutzer, 59.
[57] Ayer, 103.
[58] Anne Colby and Lawrence Kohlberg, eds., *The Measurement of Moral Judgment* (Cambridge: Center for Moral Development and Education, Harvard University, 1982).
[59] Colby and Kohlberg.
[60] Colby and Kohlberg.
[61] Lutzer, 69.

This intrinsic value in many cultures is tied to a religion or a religious tradition that anchors onto faith to provide a basis for measurement. If I approach the theoretical framework from the Judeo-Christian path that is akin to Western religions and religious traditions with a monotheist concept of God, I can latch onto an absolute marker. That absolute standard for morality is God Himself.[62] In *Measures of Religiosity* by Peter Hill and Ralph Hood, psychological empirical studies conglomerated various dimensions of scales and measures that already existed for measuring religiosity.[63] However, even at a towering volume of almost 500 pages, the authors note there are limitations to scales.[64] In *Spiritual Value System,* Julius Owusu shares a few definitions of value systems, where faith is preferred over religion: principles of right and wrong accepted by an individual or social group; standard or method by which meaning or value is assigned to things; a set of established values, norms, or goals existing in a society.[65]

But what about other Eastern religions, like Buddhism and Hinduism? Underpinning them is the concept of reincarnation and the karmic system of merit and demerit points. This is the ultimate tally or spiritual accounting of one's personal deeds and actions on earth, that is, one's own Karma.[66] This self-check/self-accountability does tie in with a concept of heaven and hell, though it is not exactly like obedience to one Almighty God. *Dana* (giving) is the most fundamental of all Buddhist practices. In the brief mindful moment of giving, the giver's self-centeredness is lifted, attachment to the

[62] Lutzer, 86.
[63] Peter C. Hill and Ralph W. Hood, eds., *Measures of Religiosity* (Birmingham: Religious Education Press, 1999).
[64] Hill and Hood, 4–5.
[65] Julius Owusu, *Spiritual Value System: Esteeming Spiritual Things More than Fleeting Physical Things* (Abbotsford: Life Sentence Publishing, 2013), Kindle location 64.
[66] Warren F. Ilchman, Stanley N. Katz, and Edward L. Queen II, eds., *Philanthropy in the World's Traditions* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), Chapter 3.

item gifted is renounced, and kindness toward the recipient is inculcated. According to the Buddha, "Before giving, the mind is happy; while giving, the mind is peaceful; after giving, the mind is uplifted."[67] To cultivate a generosity of spirit in giving, Zen Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hanh extends the analogy of washing dishes for your host after dinner — teaching yourself to be in the moment and enjoy performing such acts of generosity. He argues, "Acts of kindness actually serve the people who give as well as those who receive kindness. Much like the plant *He* (Vietnamese vegetable from onion family), where the more you cut its base, the more it grows. Similarly, if you give and continue to give, you become richer and richer in terms of happiness and well-being.[68] There are also philosophical-cultural traditions that have become a way of life. These include Confucianism in China and among diasporic Chinese worldwide, Shinto in Japan; Taoism (practiced together with Buddhism) in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Singapore; and ancestral worship in China and Southeast Asia.[69]

As Confucianism is a system of social order within the family (and extending out to the extended family, village, province, state, country), the markers of measurement are filial piety, reverence for elders (including deceased elders), as well as family and social harmony in accordance with *The Analects* by Confucius.[70] This philosophical system of filial piety and respect of hierarchy extends into ancestral worship rituals of which the Ching Ming festival is the most celebrated — like an act of virtue.[71] Confucian self-

[67] Andrew Olendzki, "The Wisdom of Giving," Tricycle, accessed December 16, 2018, https://tricycle.org/magazine/wisdom-giving.
[68] Ephrat Livni, "A Vietnamese Zen Master's Simple Advice on How to Build Generosity of Spirit," Quartz, March 9, 2018, https://qz.com/1224640/a-vietnamese-zen-masters-simple-advice-on-how-to-build-generosity-of-spirit.
[69] ReligionFacts, *Confucianism*, accessed July 28, 2018, http://www.religionfacts.com/confucianism.
[70] "Confucianism."
[71] Roger T. Ames and Henry Rosemont Jr, *The Analects of Confucius: A Philosophical Translation* (New York: Random House Publishing Group, 2010), 1–19.

cultivation, aimed at producing an individual (the "gentleman" or "sage") endowed with the virtue of "*Ren"* involves a strict regimen of training in which the individual subordinates himself to traditional standards of practice and judgment. This training advances along two main fronts: ritual practice and study. After extended training, emotions are harnessed to produce moral behavior; that the inner state of the actor be harmonized with outer behavior was crucial for Confucius.[72]

Much like Confucianism's strong emphasis on filial piety as the most important virtue, the Greeks, and in particular Plato, recognized the need to respect and care for one's parents, to the extent of a tension between the demands of family and the polis.[73] For example, Euthyphro's interpretation of piety required him to prosecute his father for stealing a sheep, whereas this was frowned upon by Confucius, based on lack of filial piety. Plato, like Confucius, believed that there is a general obligation to respect those significantly older than oneself, and hence associates this with one's parents. However, these resemblances stem from quite different philosophical bases. Filial piety, for the Chinese (coming from Confucius), is a fundamental "root" virtue in the sense that through filial piety, we cultivate our character, and this lays the foundation for the key virtue of humaneness. The Greeks do not have a specific term for filial piety; their virtue of piety (holiness) is more concerned with duties toward one's parents, much like honoring their gods.[74]

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[72] Edward Slingerland, "Virtue Ethics, the Analects, and the Problem of Commensurability," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 29, no. 1 (2001): 101.
[73] R. A. H. King, *The Good Life and Conceptions of Life in Early China and Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, Digital original edition (Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 14.
[74] King, 14.

Shinto philosophy is polytheistic with abstract forces of nature as deities (the sun goddess is the chief deity) and places importance on ritual practices and rites for which sacred power is embedded in objects.[75] It is a modern representation of a collection of the prehistoric Japanese worship of nature and animism, where the existence of Kami is the ultimate spirit of essence. Hence it is not so much an accounting or measurement of virtues or words in preaching.[76] There is also what is popularly known as the New Age Spirituality that emerged in the 1970s on the eastern and western coastal areas of the United States. New Age Spirituality is an eclectic blend of naturalism, spirituality, astrology, and Western esotericism, defined by pantheism of "becoming one with the One."[77]

We move on to the second theoretical guiding post: the influence of local social norms in acculturation and assimilation. There are traditionally two strains of theoretical formulations of acculturation: the uni-dimensional model and the bi-dimensional model.[78] The former conceptualizes acculturation as a linear process whereby change in cultural identity is seen to take place along a single continuum over the course of time, while the latter places emphasis on ethnic pluralism and conceptualizes the acculturation process as a two-dimensional framework.

These two dimensions give individuals the option to maintain or reject their cultural heritage, but also to participate in and acquire the values, attitudes, and behaviors of the dominant culture.[79] However, acculturation's concept was expanded and extended

[75] ReligionFacts, *Shinto*, http://www.religionfacts.com/shinto (accessed July 28, 2018).
[76] ReligionFacts, *Shinto*.
[77] Lutzer, 106.
[78] K. N. Tonsing, "A Study of Acculturation and Adaptation of South Asians in Hong Kong," *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* 5, no. 2 (2010): 192.
[79] Tonsing, 192–93.

in *Rethinking the Concept of Acculturation: Implications for Theory and Research* in which the authors proposed a multidimensional process consisting of the confluence among heritage-cultural and receiving-cultural practices, values, and identifications.[80] For the purpose of my study, it is noted that the authors stressed the importance of the "context of reception" in shaping the acculturation process, which means that different locales within a given country can have vastly different contexts of reception and that these different contexts may present different types of support or stress.[81] This perspective has long-term implications from a philanthropic point of view.

Authors Irene W. Chung and Tazuko Shibusawa suggested that first and second generation immigrants experienced acculturation challenges such as language barriers, racial discrimination, underemployment, the loss of support networks, and changes in family role and structure, all of which sometimes resulted in a heightened sense of mental health issues.[82] Similarly, Leong documented Chinese Malaysians' notions of home and their identification with host communities in Singapore.[83] So, what and by how much must immigrants do to be considered fully participating members in their adopted society and to be assimilated into the local community? There is evidence to suggest that naturalized citizens are more sensitive to the impact of perceived immigrant threats and contributions, thus making consensual and conflictual markers between the native and

[80] Seth J. Schwartz et al., "Rethinking the Concept of Acculturation: Implications for Theory and Research," *American Psychologist* 65, no. 4 (2010): 1, https://doi.org/10.1037/a0019330.
[81] Schwartz et al., 16–18.
[82] Irene Chung and Tazuko Shibusawa, *Contemporary Clinical Practice with Asian Immigrants: A Relational Framework with Culturally Responsive Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2013).
[83] Chan-Hoong Leong, "Social Markers of Acculturation: A New Research Framework on Intercultural Adaptation," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 38 (January 2014): 120–32, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2013.08.006.

foreign-born citizens a critical platform from which both groups must negotiate their sociopolitical space and identify the gaps in public policies.[84]

Philosopher Cristina Bicchieri in *The Grammar of Society: The Nature and Dynamics of Social Norms* advanced the theory that individuals react automatically to cues, with those cues often pointing to the social norms that govern our choices in a social world.[85] In her latest book, *Norms in the Wild: How to Diagnose, Measure, and Change Social Norms*, she further refined her theory with an understanding of how changing them — changing preferences, beliefs, and especially social expectations — can potentially improve lives around the world.[86] Social norms play an important role in prosocial behavior (giving, volunteerism), with individuals often motivated to act in accordance with perceived social norms.[87] A four-study research project presented collective evidence suggesting a simple, practical, and efficient way of increasing donations, that is, to present that giving is the default in a choice situation. It was quite surprising, even to industry practitioners, that 81 percent of participants gave when such a donation choice was the default.[88]

Stepping up even further to confirm the efficacy of social information and social norms, researchers Croson, Handy, and Shang teamed up to publish their results in their *Keeping Up with the Joneses* study to dig deeper into the influence of perceived descriptive social norms on giving behavior. Laboratory results confirmed the results

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[84] Leong, 120, 130.
[85] Cristina Bicchieri, *The Grammar of Society: The Nature and Dynamics of Social Norms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University. Press, 2006), 1–7.
[86] Cristina Bicchieri, *Norms in the Wild: How to Diagnose, Measure, and Change Social Norms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), Kindle location 4 and 885.
[87] Jim A.C. Everett et al., "Doing Good by Doing Nothing? The Role of Social Norms in Explaining Default Effects in Altruistic Contexts," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 45, no. 2 (2015): 239, https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2080.
[88] Everett et al., 239.

obtained from a donor survey; that is, perceived descriptive social norms influenced giving levels. In addition, the experiment demonstrated the causal relationship between social information, perceived descriptive social norms, and giving.[89] A more recent study by leading faculty at the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy confirmed that social norms do affect charitable giving. That is, people are more likely to give after seeing others give and paying attention to others' charitable giving in order to understand how much to give and where to give. In essence, potential donors use social norms as a guide for how to give more effectively, and where others give is a social signal that the charity is worthy of donations.[90] The preceding information is valuable for frontline fundraising because with it fundraisers can shape perceived descriptive social norms to affect participation rates and size of gifts, attract new donors, increase retention rates, and influence decisions on planned or major gifts.

In a study by Theodora Lam and Brenda S. A. Yeoh, the concept of transmigrants traversing national boundaries was brought to bear, in regard to their response to the global demand for skilled labor while maintaining multifaceted social ties astride political, geographic, and cultural borders, thus linking home and host countries together.[91] Because transmigrants "live" in several communities simultaneously, their identities, behavior, and values often are not limited by location. Their notions of "home" and "national identity" are flexible and adaptive.[92] In this regard, Southeast Asian scholar

[89] Rachel Croson, Femida Handy, and Jen Shang, "Keeping Up with the Joneses: The Relationship of Perceived Descriptive Social Norms, Social Information, and Charitable Giving," *Nonprofit Management and Leadership* 19, no. 4 (June 1, 2009): 483, https://doi.org/10.1002/nml.232.
[90] Mesch, 6, 19.
[91] Theodora Lam and Brenda S. A. Yeoh, "Negotiating 'Home' and 'National Identity': Chinese-Malaysian Transmigrants in Singapore," *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 45, no. 2 (August 1, 2004): 141, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8373.2004.00235.x.
[92] Lam and Yeoh, 141.

Aihwah Ong provided a comprehensive understanding of how transnationals make use of adaptive strategies by exercising flexible identities to gain social capital, economic and political advantages, among others.[93] The role of immigrant voluntary associations and associational activities is also important in understanding the factors that shape immigrants' formal sociability, all of which inevitably lead to their joining the ranks of contributors as volunteers, donors, and benefactors in their communities. Moya took a global and historical perspective to show how quasi-universal processes, on the one hand, and local and temporal specificities, on the other hand, shaped associational practices in a way that transcended the ethno-national traditions and characteristics of immigrant groups and host countries.[94]

When it comes to linking acculturation with wealth accumulation, giving, donations, and philanthropic action, the literature and theoretical concepts narrow down drastically to only a handful of studies led by Osili, with Paulson, Du, and Xie, which provide an understanding of immigrants' financial market behavior, how immigrants accumulate and hold onto wealth, and how they assimilate into charitable giving and other forms of American civic engagement.[95]

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[93] Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); Aihwa Ong and Donald Macon Nonini, eds., *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

[94] Jose C. Moya, "Immigrants and Associations: A Global and Historical Perspective," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31, no. 5 (September 1, 2005): 833–64, https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830500178147.

[95] Una Okonkwo Osili and Dan Du, "Immigrant Assimilation and Charitable Giving," *New Directions for Philanthropic Fundraising* 2005, no. 48 (2005): 89–104; Una Okonkwo Osili and Anna L. Paulson, "Prospects for Immigrant-Native Wealth Assimilation: Evidence from Financial Market Participation," *Social Science Research Network*, SSNR Scholarly Paper, ID 624187 (November 1, 2004), http://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=624187; Una Okonkwo Osili and Jia Xie, "Do Immigrants and Their Children Free Ride More than Natives?," *The American Economic Review* 99, no. 2 (2009): 28–34.

CHAPTER THREE:
FAMILY AND ANCESTRY

Scattering across Southeast Asia

After the fanning out of tens of millions of Chinese from mainland China into the Nanyang in Southeast Asia, the ethnic Chinese uncannily emerged to be among the wealthiest in their newly adopted homes.[1] As a hardworking and cultural minority group with links to a huge hinterland of mainland China, diasporic Chinese and their descendant ethnic Chinese soon gained a stronghold in trading and emerged as a powerful economic force. Due to their important role in local economies, they were often regarded as a homogeneous and unassimilable group of people who continued to hold onto Chinese values, to speak Chinese, and to be politically and culturally oriented toward China; thus they were often misconceived by indigenous communities to be a threat or security risk.[2]

In view of the perceived strong Chinese economic grip on Southeast Asia, some countries introduced policies aimed at reducing the economic strength of the Chinese community whenever economic nationalism was challenged or felt by the local indigenous communities.[3] Therefore, from time to time, indigenous leaders have perceived ethnic Chinese as a "Chinese Problem" (with the exception of Singapore, in which the Chinese make up the majority of the population).[4] Different countries under different leaders have engaged with apprehension, viewing ethnic Chinese as either too communist-linked politically or too bourgeois economically. As a result, Southeast Asian leaders tended to have in place national policies to address the "Chinese Problem."[5]

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[1] Haley, Haley, and Tan, *New Asian Emperors*, 38–40.
[2] Leo Suryadinata, *Understanding the Ethnic Chinese in Southeast A*sia, 11.
[3] Suryadinata, 17.
[4] Suryadinata, 21.
[5] Suryadinata, 12.

Because of their historic diasporic routes and settlement patterns into such a broad and diverse cultural landscape across almost a dozen countries in Southeast Asia (Thailand, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, the Philippines, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Indonesia, and Timor-Leste), ethnic Chinese have in fact become heterogeneous, which makes research and study of this group of people very complex and challenging. In this context, much has been written about the diasporic Chinese's entrepreneurial spirit, economic prowess, and business survival tactics; their degree of acculturation and assimilation; their Confucian heritage and new identities and loyalties; and their sociological and historical experiences under Western colonization, the Cold War, the influence of the Japanese occupation, and engagement with China's pre- and post-communism and socialism governments.

Perhaps because there's so much to study about the diasporic Chinese and the ethnic Chinese, research into the philanthropy of the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia has been left by the wayside. As a result, literature on diasporic Chinese philanthropy is almost nonexistent. My study fills in the gap on their philanthropic value systems and how these converge with social norms of the times to shape the beneficence, generosity, charity, and philanthropic action of the diasporic Chinese in Southeast Asia.

Forging of the Chinese Diaspora Identity

The first generation (G1) diasporic Chinese came to Southeast Asia with the attitude of sojourners and brought with them values, traditions, and a familial culture derived from Confucianism. Why is Confucianism so important in Chinese culture? Confucius, who lived from 551 BC to 479 BC, was the conscious inheritor of the cultures of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties (between 2070 BC and 256 BC). Through his own

work and that of his disciples, he codified, filtered, and bequeathed this deep-rooted culture to future generations of Chinese.[6]

The central idea of Confucius as expressed in his *Analects* is the way in which man can become a good and upright person in terms of his relations with others. Most important is propriety, which comprises appropriate behavior and proper manners suitable for the circumstances. The whole ritual system is designed to achieve harmonious relations among people.[7] Equally important is what is expressed in part 512 of the Analects, that is, the Chinese character used most frequently (105 times) by Confucius — *Ren.* It is regarded with reverence and is best translated as "benevolence," which Confucius clarified as "loving people . . . love and respect others, including filial piety to your parents and extending it to loving all the people under Heaven."[8] Confucius believed that propriety is the external manifestation of benevolence; the latter is the interior content of propriety; that is, propriety embodies benevolence. Hence, for a society to operate well, all members should behave according to their own status.[9]

Data3 succinctly summed the likes of family infused with Confucianism values:

> Our family, from parents, to grandfather, great grandfather and earlier — they followed Confucianism values as they come from China. They were Ministers/government officials who passed the Imperial exams; therefore, one of their core values was education. The philanthropy part came from Confucianism benevolence and helping of extended family and order of the extended family ruled in the household. The family was very large with many wives; boys were valued. For example, 1st son would get double share, boys get one share, and girls get percentage of a share. We all were given good opportunities for education overseas (including girls, and some did very well) even in my grandparents' times — very progressive.

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[6] Xu Yuanxiang (徐远翔), *Confucius: A Philosopher for the Ages*, Ancient Sages of China (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2007), 28.
[7] Xu Yuanxiang (徐远翔), 32–33.
[8] Xu Yuanxiang (徐远翔), 34–35.
[9] Xu Yuanxiang (徐远翔), 34–39.

In traditional Chinese families that are steeped in Confucian values, the individual male heirs exist to ensure the genetic material to continue the family bloodline, and the continuation of the family name. Data3 continued,

> Our parents valued thriftiness and wastage was frowned upon. There were few luxuries. Even though we did not lack in essentials, we led a rather austere but happy lifestyle. In the quiet, they have always been giving away donations — but they do not want their giving to be too loud; it is part of humility in the Confucianism practice.

Data7 recalled this of her grandfather Lee Kong Chian while living in the extended family household:

> Following Confucian family hierarchies at the family's company or his Foundation: his daughters were not involved and the off-springs of his daughters (even grandsons or very successful granddaughters) were not involved; the paternalistic structures which ran through only the direct male heirs carrying the same surname had to be adhered to.

Data7 further recalled the following about her grandfather:

> I knew my grandfather well because I lived in the main family house till, I was 17. As you know how Chinese families are — you treat your elders with respect and you're not having long conversations with them at home. There was no sharing . . . they ask you details, and you tell them. It was a very hierarchical setting. We had meals together from about 7 years old; there was a big extended family, and you can hear them talk about things. But my grandfather never spoke about his successes. He was very very modest and never liked to talk about his achievements. In those days, of course, there was no such thing as celebrity . . . I was quite clueless of his public persona; really, I only knew him as a private person, not so much of him as a public figure. We only knew when he died, when he had a funeral (I was 17 and he was in his 70s). It was 1967.

Although Lee Kong Chian followed the Confucianism patriarchal hierarchies, he also cherished the other key value of Confucianism even more fiercely, that is, education. Data7 recalled that while Lee Kong Chian had very high standards for his sons, he also

gave all the girls in the family full access and support so that they could achieve their full potential and excel:

> He made it very clear that we (girls) were just as intelligent, capable . . . there were no barriers to education or intellectual access and attainment. Lee Kong Chian was himself an insatiable learner — he was learning Jawi (Arabic alphabet for Malay, Indonesian), and of course he was already experienced with both English and Chinese for a long time. He had a lot of books! He was very free in letting me read the books. That was the atmosphere at home. In fact, I think one felt . . . that was a time when women were not entering their professions, though educated. And then my grandmother was also educated, had a private tutor, and my mother went to university. So, all girls had equal education.

Data7's grandmother was the eldest daughter of Tan Kah Kee, a prominent Chinese businessman and philanthropist who contributed extensively to the financing of schools and education in both Singapore and China. Her husband, Lee Kong Chian, admired Tan Kah Kee and learned from him the value of education, philanthropy, including the famous ethos of "going into business to make money to give it away back to society."

Data7 continued,

> We all knew the one clear message: that none of us would inherit any money. We had the advantage of an education, but after that it is up to us to make what we can of it. And I remember or later found that Tan Kah Kee, his personal values were that: you should not give your money to your children. If they are able, they can make their own money; and if they are worthless, they are going to lose away your money. But despite his patriarchal upbringing and surroundings, Lee Kong Chian had a tender side in his personal nature; he was a wonderful husband — that's where he showed his tender side. I was once offhand with my grandmother — his wife. He felt it was not respectful to her and he really gave me a shelling. He was more protective of her . . . he was a devoted husband and waited on her. That we all knew.

As sojourners, the first generation carried with them G1 values and aspirations that included the mandate to return to their motherland in their lifetime, with great hopes of eventually retiring and dying in their motherland, China. Data12 had this to say:

> When our grandparents came with their Chinese culture, they arrived and landed in different cultural lands of Southeast Asia; but they came without the expectation of staying forever and therefore still carried the loyalty of their root cultures. . .. Our grandparents just came here to earn the money and go home, so they do not feel necessary to integrate.

Their self-imposed migration was fueled by the astounding historical, social, and economic circumstances. At the turn of the nineteenth century, there was widespread illiteracy and abject poverty in China. The GI diasporic Chinese were forced by circumstances to leave China for survival, and hence were willing to risk their lives to travel south to seek a new life as migrants in lands unfamiliar to them. Willing to learn a new language to get around, assimilating and blending in with locals, and working excruciatingly hard to survive, they were very resourceful with an eager ambition to "make it" in what was then popularly known as the Nanyang for the Chinese diaspora community.

Data13, a G1 diasporic Chinese, shared in his memoirs that his grandmother mentored and encouraged him to venture out into the world to learn, experience, acquire skills — and return to his roots. In fact, such a directive was the standard "bon voyage" message that sank deeply into the minds of many G1 diasporic Chinese as they boarded the ships that took them to various countries in Southeast Asia. Then very young, these G1 diasporic Chinese, who were mostly male, left the tumultuous, chaotic economic and social circumstances of the early twentieth century in China with a clear purpose and mandate: go forth to the Nanyang, survive at all cost, make money to send home to help

the dire situation in China, and, if possible, build a big fortune and return home to your roots. There was also a great expectation for them to be loyal to their root cultures and their families' home villages. The migration out of China was perceived as a temporary measure to ride out the wave of abject poverty and overcome the acute desperation caused by famines, political upheaval, and countrywide overpopulation in under-utilized and poorly managed arable land in China.

Along with this foundational sojourner mentality were the expectations of those left behind, for remittances in order to fend the tumultuously dire conditions in China, in addition to a mandate to return when the time came for them to retire. Once outside of China, G1 diasporic Chinese fought for survival, and despite the tremendous changes in the political, social, and economic landscape of Southeast Asia, they always carried in their hearts the hope that "one day I'll be going home to motherland."

This psyche weighed heavily on how they thought about charity, generosity, and philanthropy. Data12 put it succinctly: "Their giving and generosity naturally follows back to motherland; it was focused on giving to China." The data acquired from the interviews conducted for this study suggest that a range of "loyalty to motherland" values existed among G1 diasporic Chinese in Southeast Asia.

Tan Kah Kee, a G1 diasporic Chinese rubber tycoon, was among the most admired overseas nationalist leader of the twentieth century. Blending stern Confucianism social ethics with a bold, practical approach to business, he migrated to Singapore in 1890 to work in the family's business and soon became a wealthy entrepreneur in his own right.[10] Tan Kah Kee's philanthropic work in education earned

[10] Philip A. Kuhn, *Chinese among Others: Emigration in Modern Times* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 272.

him a niche as one of the earliest Chinese philanthropists in modern China; his charitable donations and "access to education for all" philosophy transformed his wealth into status, beginning with one's kin group and native region (common in a Chinese Confucian-centric society).[11] Though he lived in Singapore and his business was carried out from Singapore and the surrounding regions, his giving was more focused on China. He gave to finance rural village schools and was so progressive and activist in this thinking that he compensated fathers who allowed their daughters to go to school (daughters were kept at home to farm, do the household chores, and raise younger siblings). Tan Kah Kee was most fondly remembered for founding the Jimei Schools and Xiamen University, which benefitted not only the young people of his hometown but also many compatriots from Southeast Asia.[12] In May of 1950, hastened by sociopolitical changes in China and Malaya, Tan Kah Kee moved his final base of remaining wealth back to China and founded Xiamen University in his hometown in the province of Fujian.

Like a typical G1, his heart was still very much with China. But if we examine further, we see that he behaved according to the classic template of Confucian social action; that is, the idea that education in Tan Kah Kee's home region would ultimately spread and contribute to "an orderly China" — extending from village to province and ultimately throughout the entire country. This was Tan Kah Kee's strategy in the context of the stark Confucian values to create a path to social reform and national strength.[13]

Data6, grandson of Tan Kah Kee, had this to say of his grandfather's generosity and giving back to society: "[Tan Kah Kee catalyzed] the concept of 'borrowing and

[11] Kuhn, 272.
[12] Ching Fatt Yong, Julio Antonio Gonzalo, and Manuel Mar, *Tan Kah-Kee: The Making of an Overseas Chinese Legend* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2014), 49.
[13] Kuhn, 273.

making money to give.'" It should be noted that it was a common practice for Chinese businessmen of his generation to obtain loans from banks whenever possible to solve short-term or long-term financial problems, with hardly any awareness of liquidity (as interest rates were comparatively low by today's standards). At a personal level, Tan Kah Kee had a philosophical and spiritual commitment to the maintenance of the Jimei Schools and Xiamen University in China; whatever profits or extra liquidity he had on hand from bank loans, he would siphon off in large quantities for educational purposes, and when chided by his key staff, he would brush them off with, "My lifestyle is simple and a simple bowl of peanut porridge would do me fine."[14]

After returning to China in the last stretch of his life, he continued to build and fundraise for Xiamen University and other Chinese projects in Southeast Asia and lived in China until his passing in 1961. His societal and philanthropic activities included being an early supporter of Sun Yat Sen and his Revolutionary Alliance before the revolution of 1911; organizing fundraising efforts for the Shandong Relief Fund in 1928 in retaliation against the Japanese for the Jinan Incident; supporting the Southeast China Relief Fund; and founding five primary and secondary Chinese schools in Singapore. His most ambitious project was to bring the wide-ranging Chinese organizations together under a common cause and organize the Singapore China Relief Fund Committee, which raised a staggering sum of $1.3 million (from 1937 to 1941).[15]

Lien Ying Chow was born in 1906 in Dapu, China. Orphaned at 10, he went to live with a great granduncle in Guangdong, and soon traveled to Hong Kong to work.

[14] Yong, Gonzalo, and Mar, 70.
[15] Yong, Gonzalo, and Mar, 14; Kuhn, *Chinese among Others: Emigration in Modern Times*, 274; Yong, Gonzalo, and Mar, 160, 342.

With his savings and help from a relative in Hong Kong, Lien bought himself a passage ticket and arrived in Singapore when he was 14 years old. He worked from the bottom up for a ship chandler, and soon, with $5,000 in savings, he set up his own ship chandler business, but closed the business six months later. In 1929, with another partner, How Wan Hong, Lien formed Wah Hin & Co., in which he held a 60 percent share, supplying provisions to the British armed forces.[16] By the late 1930s, Lien had become one of the most successful businessmen in Singapore.[17] Data1 remembered that, at an advanced age, Lien Ying Chow made the decision to establish the Lien Foundation, explaining to then Prime Minister of Singapore Lee Kuan Yew: "Having lived in Singapore the whole of my adult life, I am a Singaporean. But there will always be a little part of me that will belong to China." When China opened in the late 1970s, the elderly Lien was a first mover in extending substantial contributions to help the Chinese authorities to modernize the infrastructure from the ground up. No matter how rooted a G1 was as a national, there always remained an intrinsic biological and emotional attachment to their motherland China.

Data13, was born in Indonesia in 1929 after his father migrated from Putian, China in 1928. However, when he was five months old, he was returned to be raised in China due to family circumstance, and then sent back to Indonesia where his father made his livelihood. After Data13's university education at the Central University in Nanjing, he returned to Indonesia in 1950 and that was where he developed his own business and built his wealth. Data13 shared the following in his memoir:[18]

[16] George Lien, *From Chinese Villager to Singapore Tycoon: My Life Story* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1992), 67.
[17] Lien, 70.
[18] Mochtar Riady, *Mochtar Riady: My Life Story* (Singapore: John Wiley & Sons (Asia) Pte. Ltd., 2017).

> In my ancestral home in China, my grandfather opened a school and hired teachers to educate our neighbors' children in his home. These were the only educational facilities in the village, and my grandfather would often go around the village exhorting children to study. I feel pride when I think of my father and grandfather, they both cared deeply about the next generation's upbringing. In the early 2000s, I travelled to Nanjing to visit my alma mater, Southeast University (formerly National Central or Chung Yang University). I decided to donate another building — to be called the Mochtar Riady Library — and this would be the centerpiece of the new campus. I felt this was my social responsibility, since so much of my success was made possible by the education, I received at my alma mater.

Lee Kong Chian, was born in the Fujian district and raised in China in his early years. In 1903, when he was 10 years old, he migrated to Singapore from Nan'an, Fujian, and then went back to China at the age of 15 for high school. His schooling was interrupted by the revolution at the end of the Qing dynasty and the end of Imperial China rule, after which he returned to Singapore to begin his working life as a young man. With entrepreneurial acumen and a risk-taking mentality, he became very wealthy in the 1950s. He was known in Southeast Asia as the Rubber King and the Pineapple King and for his banking endeavors in which he played a major role in founding the Overseas Chinese Banking Corporation. Noticing his talents and virtues, Tan Kah Kee gave Lee Kong Chian his eldest daughter's hand in marriage. Lee Kong Chian leveraged success through Confucianism traits and values: thrift, diligence, a strong work ethic, discipline, and trustworthiness. He soon came into his own as a leader in business, education, and philanthropy.

Though Lee Kong Chian had strong loyalty and feelings for his Chinese homeland, he did not return to China like his "sojourner" father-in-law Tan Kah Kee did. Rather, Lee Kong Chian was imbued with Tan Kah Kee's values of philanthropy; he

diligently followed a mantra of "benefit from society and spending on society," as shared by Data6.

It has also been documented that Lee Kong Chian's philanthropic practices started long before he became wealthy. Even when he was a salaried employee earning only a paltry sum, he was already saving to help his relatives as well as his hometown ancestral halls and temples.[19] His first major act of philanthropy occurred in 1922, early in his work life at Tan Kah Kee's company, when he made a donation to build a primary school in the Lee ancestral hall and temple in his hometown. At that time, his wages were minimal, but he saved what he could and even pawned a watch in order to accumulate the few hundred dollars that he gave a village relative to take back to start a school. Unfortunately, the school was discontinued the next year due to insufficient fresh funding.[20]

Apart from having an early start in giving to charity, Lee was also known for accommodating a "small-quantum approach" to charitable acts even after he became wealthy — his way of spreading his money to benefit a larger group of people; he was especially accommodating to individuals who approached him directly for support. His son, Lee Seng Gee, once acknowledged that the Lee family's approach to benefaction was to choose "the route of helping the world on a broad scale."[21]

Whether he was helping in a small or big way, Lee Kong Chian apparently recognized that having a structured philanthropic foundation was necessary, and he made

[19] Jianli Huang, "Shifting Culture and Identity: Three Portraits of Singapore Entrepreneur Lee Kong Chian (1893-1967)," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 82, no. 1 (2009): 81. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41493735.
[20] Huang, 81–82.
[21] Huang, 81.

a decision to set up the Lee Foundation on March 29, 1952, shortly before his retirement in September 1954.[22] Barely two days after their father's funeral in 1967, in order to send a strong message of the importance of the work of the Lee Foundation and their intention to keep to the vision of their father, Lee Kong Chian's children issued a formal statement reassuring the public about the continuation of the foundation and its activities. On December 21, 1991, the dispensation structure of the Lee family largesse entered a new phase when a China-centered endowment named the Furong Foundation was created in his hometown.[23] This decision by Lee's children facilitated the injection of a huge sum of money to sponsor many Chinese projects, including the Lee Kong Chian Historical Memorial Home in Nan'an. This initiative for a separate foundation demonstrates the commitment of Lee Kong Chian's philanthropic and emotional generosity as a G1 diasporic Chinese.

As we can see, while there were small variations in G1 settlement as nationals in the Nanyang, there was a common thread among them — a strong loyalty to motherland China — and a part of their *Self* heavily identified with being Chinese and practicing the Confucian way of life. They never forgot their Chinese roots and even manifested philanthropic action in that vein because they understood their own *Self* to be a link in the long and perpetual chain of their ancestral lineage. Because of their clarity of identity, they were unwavering in moral duty and in executing their philanthropic actions in their lifetime: wherever they settled in the Nanyang, they took it upon themselves as a personal responsibility to transmit Confucian values to the next generations and to respectfully honor the family name and ancestry — philanthropy being one of the platforms.

[22] Huang, 81.
[23] Huang, 82.

Settling into New Lands and Becoming Nationals

Even if they "made it," not all sojourners fulfilled their dream of returning to their motherland, China. Political and historical developments in China were turbulent and unstable from the 1800s and into the first half of the twentieth century. Two Opium Wars between China and the British and Western countries that wanted to open trading ports on the East coast of China were followed by the Taiping Rebellion, burning of the Old Summer Palace, the Nanking Massacre, the Sino-Japanese Wars, the Boxer Rebellion, the Eight-Nation Alliance, the Self-Strengthening Movement, and the 1911 Wuchang Revolution led by the nationalist revolutionist Sun Yat Sen and others from their base in Japan. At the revolution's finality, Empress Dowager Cixi and the Qing Dynasty weakened, resulting in the dynasty's downfall when Puyi, China's last emperor, was removed, bringing China's long history of feudal dynastic rule to an end in 1912.[24] Civil war between the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) continued for the next decades, intercepted by the Sino-Japanese war of 1937, until the end of WWII. The final stretch of the civil wars following Mao Zedong's Long March turned the tide and gave the CCP victory over KMT, and with that Chairman Mao Zedong founded modern China as the People's Republic of China in October 1949. Unfortunately, hardship under the CCP continued for another three decades. Although the consolidation of power under Chairman Mao was a great success, disastrous outcomes of his economic policies ensued. The Great Leap Forward led to a most gruesome famine, only to be followed by another ten years of the Cultural Revolution from 1966–1976, both at the expense of tens of millions of lives and stepping backward into a closed-door

[24] SK Lim, *Modern Chinese History 1840-1949* (Singapore: AsiaPac Books, 2012), http://asiapacbooks.com.sg/Book/173/Modern-Chinese-History-1840-1949.

policy. For more than a century from the mid-1800s, there was seemingly no end to turbulence, chaos, and displacement of human lives. Therefore, in the context of the times, for survival, it is not difficult to understand the massive migration of the Chinese diaspora.

It was not until China opened to capitalist economic reforms in 1978 under Deng Xiaoping that China began to slowly relax its travel policy (in and out) and eventually opened its doors. During this long period of more than 100 years (from the first Opium War in 1839 to 1978 where Deng Xiaoping instituted modern economic reforms), millions of diasporic Chinese were already outside China. They originally left China with a "sojourner" mindset and were saddened as they watched their motherland being suspended in a state of flux and ambiguity for over a century; they had no choice but to reevaluate their original plans of returning home.

Millions of G1 sojourners came to realize that their dream and earlier mandate of returning to China became less and less realistic in view of the continuous political upheavals and aftermath at home. They came to terms with this reality and evaluated the options of settling as nationals in the Nanyang. Outside of China, these early movers who were entrepreneurial soon became very wealthy. With economic success, they began to think along the lines of immigrants seeking to be settled as nationals in the country that had given them economic success and where their children were being born.

Although they still sent philanthropic remittances back to China, they began to see a need for their philanthropy to be extended to their own kind in the communities where they had settled. Many new migrants continued to stream out of China for some 100 years, and these new migrants very often arrived with just a shirt on their backs. Each

day, hundreds came off the boats looking like animals and begging to be fed, washed, clothed, sheltered, and with a multitude of healthcare needs from head to toe. Help was also needed to reorient and resettle them so that they could contribute to the labor force. G1 diasporic Chinese who had already settled as nationals could empathize because it was not so long ago that they had been lucky enough to receive the aid that made it possible for them to survive and thrive. As "overseas Chinese," their philanthropic action was thus activated based on self-help and mutual aid for the survival of their "own kind".

Over time, G1 diasporic Chinese shed their sojourners' attitude, in part because these young men became ready for marriage and took on wives from the local communities; those with wives back in China often took second wives in Southeast Asia. These interracial marriages between emigrant Chinese men (from Hokkien and Fujian provinces in China) and non-Muslim women from Indonesia and the Malayan cities of Malacca, Penang, and Singapore gave rise to a new identity for ethnic Chinese. Called Babas, Nonyas, Bibiks, Straits-born Chinese, or Peranakan (meaning locally born), this community was unique to Southeast Asia.

Their Chinese Confucian values also evolved, and they soon adjusted to a different lifestyle as they settled into the new lands permanently. This new culture was characterized by the integration of the Chinese men's culture with the local Malaysian and Indonesian women's culture. For example, they wore a Chinese top that matched a Malaysian or Indonesian sarong from the waist down; meals were distinguished by the fusion of Chinese and Malaysian foods, with the use of curries, chilies, spices, and coconut used generously in cooking; spoken language combined a Malaysian syntax with Hokkien colloquialisms in a unique Peranakan sing-song way of speaking; and in

Chinese festivals, the Confucian social structure was kept but with a flexibility that adjusted to the Western colonial lifestyle.[25]

Data12 is a G2 ethnic Chinese whose father was born in China. As the first generation to be born in Singapore, he explained his decisions in philanthropy:

> We are settled as Singaporeans; the philanthropy follows how I identify myself as a Singaporean with Chinese heritage. . .. I give to Singapore. . .. I don't feel bad giving to other races, if you are Singaporean and loyal. If a person makes it, you hope that majority [of all races] will do well. My philanthropy then mirrors these perspectives and personal values.

Data1 echoed this sentiment as she is ethnic-born Chinese and was raised in Singapore, though she married a G1 diasporic Chinese – Lien Ying Chow. According to Data1, she is ". . . identifying as Singaporean first, then Chinese, i.e. I am a Singaporean of Chinese origin. Not identifying as global citizen. Distinguishing myself as practicing Chinese values and customs/traditions among Singaporeans."

Setting down roots as an Indonesian national, Data13 played an important role in nurturing ethnic Chinese who chose to settle in Indonesia, encouraging them to embrace the local culture through universities with the mentality of assimilating into the "melting pot" as part of the Indonesian population. On his Indonesian identity, he commented:

> With regards to my settled land of Indonesia, my opinion was that since we are Indonesian nationals, we should set down roots here. Institutions that nurtured Indonesian culture, it should become a melting pot that was part of the great family of the Indonesian people.[26] Every person has several identities, and the number of identities increases as you get older. I am a citizen of the Republic of Indonesia. Identities come with a certain amount of authority, but they also come with responsibilities. My hope is that I can set a good example for my grandchildren and say that I contributed to the betterment of Indonesia.[27]

[25] Catherine Lim, *Gateway to Peranakan Culture* (Singapore: Asiapac Books Pte Ltd, 2003).
[26] Riady, 274–75.
[27] Riady, 311–12.

Social Norms Had the Biggest Impact on G1

It should also be pointed out that historically when travel between villages was not an easy task, family and clan were the core connections for an individual. When people were away from their hometown, people from the same clans would try to help one another.[28] Therefore it was not out of context for the Chinese in the Nanyang to have clan and family to be the important networks from which philanthropy flowed. This social network system had existed for a long time in China and was replicated quite naturally in Southeast Asia and beyond. Some examples of self-help and mutual aid based on people originating from the same clans, dialect, or Chinese ethnicity included clan associations like the Hokkien Huay Kuan, the Hainan Tan Clan, the Singapore Cantonese Wong Class, and the Hainan Hwee Kuan; these Chinese organizations were based on kinship ties that had long operated before Singapore became an independent republic (as early as the 1800s).[29] These associations were the lifelines of the many early Chinese emigrants who arrived in Singapore with no friends nor money. Largely ignored by the British colonial government, these newly arrived migrants turned to their fellow clansmen for support and assistance.[30] Clan-centric welfare centers served as the first stop for the multitudes of migrants coming off the boats from China, for example, the Thian Hock Keng Temple (for Hokkien dialect clansmen), the Ngee Ann Kongsi charitable foundation (for Teochew dialect clansmen), and the Kwong Wai Shiu Hospital (for Cantonese dialect clansmen).

[28] ChineseOnTheGo.com, *China Today*, http://chineseonthego.com/culture/index.html (accessed July 31, 2018).
[29] Cheng Lian Pang, *50 Years of the Chinese Community in Singapore* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2015), 30.
[30] Pang, 30.

The help ranged from providing basic accommodations and meals; to securing employment; to managing temples, cemeteries, and schools; to issuing marriage certificates and resolving welfare issues; and more. So, it seems there was a very robust and thriving practice of mutual aid among family and extended families, and even mutual aid to members of the same dialect group was practiced earnestly among G1 diasporic Chinese. As more migrants from different parts of China found their way to the thriving ports of disembarkation, the number of clan associations mushroomed.[31] Those people who thrived and pulled ahead succeeded because they knew how to contend with either the British colonial system or the Chinese clan organizations.

Notable early Chinese philanthropists stepped forward to make a difference for their fellowmen. Tan Tock Seng (1798–1950) was one of the earliest philanthropists and founded the Chinese Pauper's Hospital in 1844 for the Chinese migrants who came to work as "coolies" but did not have medical care. Tan Kim Seng (1805–1864) was another mover and shaker in Colonial Singapore who, together with his grandson Tan Jiak Kim, led and mobilized a donation drive to build one of the first medical schools; later, he also contributed to the construction of one of the first reservoirs and waterworks in Singapore, and more.[32] Then there was Tan Kah Kee (1874–1961) who is fondly remembered for his contribution to education, building primary and secondary schools in Singapore and China, and for championing education for the general populace, and especially equal opportunity for the education of girls.

Data2 put it in perspective:

[31] Pang, 30.
[32] Pang, 99–100.

> Operating in the context of the times (WWII reconstruction and re-integration), social norms expected successful businessmen to take on the role as community leaders as well. Under British Colonial rule, the Chinese community came together for reconstruction and infrastructure building and trusted the business leaders to advocate on their behalf — for education, healthcare, land use, social welfare, and their economic share of the pie. By this time, China had closed its doors to the outside world and G1 knew their Chinese communities had to find a way to stay alive and survive outside of China and be prepared to not return to China at all.

Data2 continued,

> All G1 diaspora giving tends to be like this because, as an immigrant, one's sense of self/identity is challenged. Searching for something familiar that you can call your own, G1 business leaders were expected to have personal moral values to serve as community leaders, volunteer and donate . . . give back to your own kind if you are lucky to make good and succeed with wealth — it was the social norm of the times.

Recalling G1 Lien Ying Chow, Data1 noted, "Being part of the clan was how business was conducted — through *guanxi* and clan identity. *Guanxi* was (and in China still is) so key to asking for favors in business." Data1 continued,

> Bite the bullet and succumb to the social norms was the attitude for G1 as they were key businessmen during those times who were getting the goodwill in business and their workers were from the community. Living off the wealth of G1 and not depending on ecosystem for economics and business, G2, G3, G4 and after need not play to the rules of social norms anymore.

In Indonesia, the G1 diasporic Chinese experienced opposition from the locals, and soon it became an official norm that the Chinese people were required to adopt Chinese names and learn the local language and the informal norms of the Indonesian community. In retrospect, Data10 however sees this in a positive light: "My father became more resilient after being targeted for practicing his own Chinese culture and identity in Indonesia."

In 1953, businessman Tan Lark Sye pledged a gift of SGD5 million and rallied ethnic Chinese from all walks of life in a fundraising campaign to build the first Chinese university outside China. On land donated by the Hokkien Huay Kuan (Hokkien clan) in Singapore, Nanyang University was established. It was intended to serve students from the Nanyang region who were studying in the Chinese vernacular but did not have the opportunity to return to China (due to China's closed-door policy) for further education or university studies. This was a milestone for the diasporic Chinese community in Southeast Asia. Successful Chinese businessmen (of particular social standing) in the Nanyang region were recruited into the fundraising committee and were expected to give. Their leadership in giving catalyzed a passionate cause among the ethnic Chinese from all walks of life across Southeast Asia. The response was overwhelming: a large tract of 550 acres on the western part of Singapore Island was donated by the Hokkien Huay Kuan clan and individual gifts ranged from SGD5 to SGD5 million (value in 1950s).

Clan associations held fundraising dinners where bottles of Remy Martin went for SGD1,000 each; hundreds of social organizations (e.g. arts, sports, literary groups) held fundraising concerts and auction dinners. Moreover, the efforts extended to the working class in mass philanthropy: rickshaw drivers, laborers, food hawkers, hairdressers, bargirls, dance hostesses, fishmongers, and vegetable sellers dove into philanthropic action with fund drives to mobilize ordinary citizens to participate by donating their earnings of the day. The story goes that at the Ipoh market in Malaya, fishmonger Da Shu Tou ("Big Tree Trunk") put on a raggedy shirt and turned fundraiser for a day wandering from stall to stall collecting some SGD1,200. His shirt and collection bowl were later auctioned, fetching SGD65, which was donated by the Ipoh Vegetable Sellers

Association.[33] This was quintessential philanthropic action and was perhaps one of the most honorable acts among the ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia in mass philanthropy, catalyzed by the generosity of an initial SGD5 million pledge from education advocate and rubber entrepreneur Tan Lark Sye.

Associating *Self* in the Context of Ancestry

Some years ago, when I was the development officer with a Singapore institution, I was structuring a major gift with a diasporic Chinese donor. Because two scholarships were being donated, I asked the donor if he would be designating one gift in the name of the company he founded and the other in his own name. He stepped back in astonishment and waved his palms apologetically, saying, "No, no never. I name it to honor my ancestors and my family name." He had decided to name one scholarship after his grandfather and the other after his father. He smiled proudly and explained,

> Perhaps my children will remember to honor me when the time comes for them to give back to society — to follow my footsteps in philanthropy — and associate themselves with the good people in the ancestral line that came before them.

At the very foundation of this worldview is the perspective that Data21 captured so succinctly:

> We are but a link in the journey of our family's ancestry: receiving the gift of life from our parents and the endowments that our ancestors have blessed us with, we contribute something back to pass on to the next generation — this is our role as a link in the human chain in this everlasting journey of mankind.

[33] Souchou Yao, "More than Buying Face: Sympathy and Chinese Philanthropy," *Journal of Asian Business* 24, no. 1–2 (2010): 47–48.

It was starkly clear to Data21 that by contributing to her family ancestral line and performing her role to uphold the family's name and honor, she was fulfilling the responsibility to her ancestry, and in doing so her responsibility to mankind — this was her inner purpose in the "human chain and everlasting journey of mankind."

American author Robert Greene in his book *The Laws of Human Nature* also writes along the same lines, that is, understanding the *zeitgeist* — the spirit of the time that came before you — then learning to feel deeply connected to the unbroken chain of history and your personal role in this grand historical drama. Such an understanding would infuse the *Self* with calmness and increase self-understanding of a sense of purpose and direction in life.[34] Greene explains *Self* and ancestry in this way:

> All that we think and experience, our most intimate thoughts and beliefs, are shaped by the struggles of past generations. So many ways we relate to the world now came from changes in thinking long ago. . .. The past lives on in you, what you are doing today, the world you live in, will live on and affect the future, connecting you to the larger human spirit that moves through us all. You in this moment are a part of an unbroken chain.[35]

Some go further in associating *Self* with their ancestry and reverence for their family's name. For example, it is common among Asian fundraising tactics to use the social norm of "saving face" to get ethnic Chinese to donate. Data1 admitted that, "This is something that is oriental (not just Chinese) which the Koreans, Japanese, and other Asian cultures succumb to." The honor of the family and ancestors is so strong that committing suicide because of saving face in many Asian societies was (and may still be) practiced. When extending help, some diasporic Chinese tended to be clannish and identify only with people from their dialect group and only help the ancestry of their own clan. Data1 said, "Teochews then give back through Ngee Ann Kongsi, their clan

[34] Robert Greene, *The Laws of Human Nature* (New York: Viking, 2018), 550.
[35] Greene, 558-561.

headquarters." We see this in the giving of Li Ka Shing, too. Originally from Swatow, Hong Kong tycoon Li felt the responsibility to build schools and fund education generously back in his hometown village in Swatow to help those left behind.

Though orphaned as a child in China, Lien Ying Chow was nevertheless rooted to his ancestry, feeling a sense of Chineseness and loyalty to the motherland China even many decades after he left China. Data1 shared that when China opened in 1978, Deng Xiaoping invited LYC (husband of Data1) back under the auspices of the "Friendship for Overseas Chinese Association." The latter was to encourage the overseas Chinese to go back to invest and help build up the country. Data1 shared that just as they got off the trains in Shenzhen:

> Huge placards with huge bold Chinese words greeted them with "热爱祖国" [Love the Motherland of your Birth]. Tears streamed down the cheeks of 72-year-old Lien Ying Chow. He cried, despite not having been back to China since he left when he was fourteen-years old – that's almost 6 decades ago!"

Those words played into the elderly Lien's heart and all kinds of emotions that triggered the link to his ancestry and foundational identity. He responded with a tremendous commitment of philanthropic funding for building bridges, roads, buildings, and infrastructure to help the communist leadership to step into economic development and modernization of China. Data1 commented, "He had a mysterious and self-identifying commitment to China, a typical G1 identity that informs their worldview and values."

Tan Kah Kee, whom we saw earlier, moved his entire remaining wealth back to China in his last years and established Xiamen University. Repeatedly, we see that for

diasporic Chinese from the G1 generation, there was truly a mandate for them to pay tribute and loyalty to their roots and homeland China. G1 diasporic Chinese also stepped into philanthropy with great generosity and benevolence with a strong sense of responsibility and association of their *Self* with their ancestry. Their Confucian values played a heavy hand in identifying their *Self* and hence such a commitment to motherland China, which unconsciously led them to bring out the inborn nature of benevolence, philanthropy, and generosity for China quite naturally.

Diasporic Chinese families that maintained a level of Confucianism in their family heritage carried a worldview that was uniquely family-centric with ancestral heritage. Where did such values and family norms come from? The rituals and practices handed down generation after generation established this "way of life"; for example, tomb sweeping during the Ching Ming festival is part of showing filial piety, gratitude, and love of humanity.[36] Traditional Confucian-centric extended families of at least three generations lived under one roof in China, and other relatives lived nearby. Children, and especially firstborn sons, were meticulously tutored to know their place in the family clan, which was headed by a successful literatus. The latter required the young males of Confucian families in China to concentrate on classical studies and the Qing government imperial civil service exams as a path to public office. Girls succumbed to the barbarous practice of feet binding; read prose literature and traditional fiction like *Dreams of the Red Chamber*; and practiced calligraphy, practical arts, female virtues, and various home duties essential to manage a large household.[37]

[36] Xu Yuanxiang (徐远翔), 32–35.
[37] Gungwu Wang, *Home Is Not Here*, (Singapore: Ridge Books NUS Press, 2018), 83–131.

Like Tan Kah Kee, Lee Kong Chian and other wealthy G1 diasporic Chinese reflected their philanthropic commitment to China. Lee Kong Chian's philanthropy to China included[38]: donating a Chinese hometown ancestral hall when he was still a salaried staff of Tan Kah Kee. There he also built a primary school, embedding his deep belief in education. Despite spending his adult years and setting up his family in Singapore, Lee Kong Chian never forgot his roots, heritage, and Chinese identity. He remembered his ancestors and where he came from with sentimentality and made a stand for the value of education, honoring his father-in-law, Tan Kah Kee. He did this by acting for education in his hometown, Jianshiang. The true centerpiece of Lee's philanthropy in China was Nan'an's Guoguang Education Village, parallel to the Jimei Education Village started earlier by Tan Kah Kee.[39] When he set up his own independent company, he again displayed his sentimentality by naming it Nam Yik, with the word "Nam/Nan" tracing back to his Nan'an ancestral roots and the "Yik" to acknowledge his debt and continued relations with Tan Kah Kee's rubber company, Khiam Yik.[40]

Data13, who in later life moved his business and family to settle in Singapore, shared in his memoirs how he appreciates the blessings he is endowed with. He has stewarded with pride and satisfaction to build a good family, three sons and three daughters. In return, his self-actualized *Self* associates with his ancestry by "contributing a good and fine next generation," all of whom he is confident understand his philosophy and approach to the business empire he has built. He shows acceptance and contentment in being a good link in the everlasting human journey and human chain.[41] Also a

[38] Huang," 82.
[39] Huang, 85.
[40] Huang, 84–88.
[41] Riady, 261–368 ; Riady, 364–359 ; Riady, 379–82.

Christian, he perceives his *Self* in the context of religion, too: "This will all be returned when the end comes."[42]

There is also evidence that the loyalties of G1 rubbed off on their G2 children who were born outside China as nationals, since they lived close together. As ethnic Chinese, many G2s who had been raised under their parents or grandparents' roof with a Confucian way of life inculcated those traditional values by the time they became adults. Data3, sibling interviewees, continue the tradition of giving by donating to scholarships for the needy to help level the playing field by way of accessibility to higher education. They believe that every gift they make honors their parents' memory by naming scholarships after them and the family. Doing so is the manifestation of filial piety and a way to "call out" the family's name and associate it with *Doing Good* in society.

Data15, a G2 born in Singapore, similarly follows the footsteps of her parents in being generous and at the same time commemorating the family name. Data15 explains, "We practice Confucianism and ancestral worship, but we are not religious. I am feeling good and happy through giving; feeling fulfilled and joy in giving, I believe that it all comes back to you and your family or next generation when you give."

Data18, in giving back to his alma mater, still clings to a couple of the values of his Chinese upbringing, although he admits he is more Christian than Chinese- or Confucian-centric. He does not quite associate his *Self* with ancestry. As we move along the continuum of Chineseness, we see that not all Chinese associate *Self* with ancestry. Data18 names the scholarships that he has endowed in his mother's name because of his Christian values and is deeply appreciative of what his mother did during those

[42] Riady, 97–100.

challenging times when his father was a gambler who never contributed to raising the children, but instead brought home gambling debts for the family to fend with. He shows his appreciation for the love and bravery of his mother, the sacrifices she made investing in the children.

Data9, a G2 who is being raised in a heavily Christian and Peranakan culture, is even further along the end of the Chinese continuum that does not associate *Self* with ancestry. As such, he noted, "Being family-centric is however more a cultural tradition. Honoring my father and mother extends to Grandfather and Grandmother since I lived with them under one roof, grew up with them being in my life, and have a personal relationship with them through experiencing family and extended family." He attributes Christian values as weighing just as heavily in his being generous or philanthropic. That is, religion and its values had a greater impact on him, rather than ancestral worship or Confucianism.

As we examine G2, G3, and later generations, we find what appears to be a distinct "Continuum of Chineseness". The *Self* in association with ancestry converges with other religious traditions, local cultural traditions where they have settled as nationals, and socio-political norms of the times. Forces from the environment, such as social trends and lifestyle aspirations, also weigh in — for example, Chinese parents sending their children overseas to study in Western universities; adopting hobbies, interests, and lifestyles steeped in Western values; and allowing them to pursue careers with favorable economic returns but at the same time might dilute or compromise their cultural heritage. These ethnic Chinese form the "westernized end of the continuum of Chineseness."

The data gained from this study also showed evidence of families that did not continue any Confucian ethos in the upbringing of their children. Data14 felt it was all very secular in his family:

> No Confucianism; my parents came to Singapore from China. My father did manual labor, eking out a living in abject poverty. On survival mode, he did still try to send some spare cash to help relatives in China and brought some cousins/relatives to Singapore — that's about all the mutual aid and philanthropy he did in those days.

Germinating Values from a Source

Where do values and morals of philanthropic behavior come from for diasporic Chinese and ethnic Chinese in Singapore and the Southeast Asian region? Some interviewees of this study recalled where they first witnessed, learned about, or were socialized into traditional cultural practices that were philanthropic and charitable; whereas others recalled being mentored, cultivated, or inspired by ethical ethos and social morals from external sources. These "sources of values" recollections from the study data were organized under the following four themes or subcategories:

1. Home Influence
2. Religious Influence
3. Confucian Values and Traditions
4. Personal Morals and Ethics

Although the findings were organized according to the preceding categories to pinpoint a source, veritably slices of morals, values, virtues, religion, traditions, and identity blended and coalesced to form a "value system" for everyone. All data points attributed their value system to more than one source (commonly two to four). When asked to identify which source carried the most weight in relationship to their

philanthropic behavior, many did not explicitly confirm one source or the other. Instead, they suggested that these sources did not exist in silos, but often built off each other, with alternating periods of dominance of one source or another over time. At the same time, social norms of the times converged to bend, twist, and test their virtues, morals, and commitment to values repeatedly.

Home Influence

Data11 remembers the generosity of her father, a G1 diasporic Chinese man who came from China and practiced what he advocated: “Everyman should have a dignified death. I will buy his/her coffin for whoever did not have one at death — no matter what community, religion, or family he came from.” Data11 recalls, “I witnessed many of these occasions where he would lavish coffins and last rites for people that he did not even know. I thought that was very generous of him.”

Data11 was touched by her mother’s kindness and generosity to others, and her mother showed how easy and important it was to love and help those around them. Her mother lived well into her nineties despite her dementia, and Data11 gave her mother the same love she had showered on everyone else. Data11 felt it was her duty to give her mother this generous treatment because of what she had done for others throughout her life; thus, Data11 put her mother in the best available senior care home and visited her regularly in her assisted living setting.

Data11 also experienced the philanthropic nature of her husband who fortunately made money in the financial markets and accumulated quite a bit of wealth in his lifetime. He always reminded Data11 to remember those who were not so lucky. Accordingly, his will provided SGD5 million from which Data11 would administer —

together with a small board of trustees — gifts and grants until this pool of funds was fully drawn down. Data11 distributed this sum over several years and then tapped into her personal funds in order to continue with her own philanthropy.

Data1 also attributed her values in philanthropy and benevolence to her husband's experiences. She was fortunate in that she had come from a privileged family and had not gone through any hardship. However, by empathizing with what her husband went through in his life, she learned from him.

Data1 explained:

> Being orphaned in childhood, in poverty in China, fighting for his survival as a young teen, my husband experienced the good intentions of a distant uncle in the family who cared enough to consider a way out to a good future as part of the network of mutual aid amongst Chinese extended families. This distant uncle took responsibility with a decision to buy a passage for him to travel to HK and then to Singapore to work as a coolie by carrying rice and ice on his back — this put him on a path of making an independent living and starting out in life in the thriving port of Singapore which was then the place where migrants were welcomed to make a good living and where opportunities abound. This deed of an unknown distant uncle sparked in my husband the understanding of being a beneficiary of philanthropy.

Data1 continued,

> If someone comes into your life to help — with a little push — it can go a long way. And that was what triggered him to want to help others: someone had helped him come out of his difficult and unfortunate situation; there was a helping hand when he least expected it. For those that had very humble and challenging beginnings, especially the G1 Chinese diaspora in the context of their times, they remembered how difficult it was; without that helping hand, they would have perished or not made it. Because they had no education, nothing, they would have never survived, let alone thrived if there was no helping hand along the way. Your value system develops under these circumstances and conditions — so poverty plays a part in forming these values. Poverty and failure are the best lessons; when you are poor, foresight, ambition, conditions are so desperate. If you have the courage, pick yourself up and start all over again. I think a lot of G1 Chinese diaspora have this experience.

When growing up, Data15 observed that her father treated his workers and the people around him very well, so she caught on very early that everyone in the household was expected to respect and care for other people and humanity in general. She recalled her father serving on the Committee for the Community to help people from all walks of life, for example, children with no access to education or medical aid and giving financially to the Tong Chai, Chung Hwa, and Kwong Wai Shiu hospitals that provided health care for incoming Chinese immigrants and later to all races that did not have access to medical aid. Data15 also observed the kindness of her mother, a housewife, who treated people fairly and without bullying them, even though her father had quite a bit of clout in the community. The early exposure to the social justice and fair treatment practiced by her mother toward others rubbed off on Data15, and now she passes it down to the next generation by practicing it. In honor of their charitable and philanthropic nature, she and her siblings have continued to donate to the same organizations that their parents gave to annually.

Data15 affirms that her family is not religious, but they practice ancestral worship and Confucianism rituals. As part of Confucian filial piety, they donate to universities and designate scholarships and rooms in the names of their father and mother. They do so to thank and honor their parents, and now they pass this tradition along to their children. Data15 believes that there is no need to form a family foundation because they practice these values day in and day out in front of their children and involve them as much as possible by volunteering at temples and schools, giving financially, honoring their parents' names, and pooling their savings to give and help others in need whenever the opportunity arises. She is confident that the children will continue to be generous in

philanthropy through Confucian rituals, festivals, and cultural heritage, thus enhancing prosperity of the ancestry as each generation carries this behavior forward. Data15 finds it hard to establish a foundation today and decide how to give, what to give, and where to give when the context of the times might be totally different and mismatched in the future. Hence, she and her family have chosen instead to provide a set of Confucian-based values to the next generation, as their guide to doing the right thing in whatever context they end up with in the future.

Data3, brother and sister interviewees who give together in naming funds after their parents, are also from a family lineage steeped in Confucian values. They noted that their mother was the one who taught them philanthropic behavior, by donating often as well as by volunteering as a daily way of life. They both agreed that seeing their mother's charitable nature and always worrying about the less fortunate, especially their health care and medical aid, awakened their Confucian value of benevolence. However, as part of their Confucian values in humility, they do not want their giving to be too loud or overly "recognized" as per Western philanthropic practices. Although they understand that development offices today want their endowments to be publicized in order to attract others to do the same, they believe that doing so conflicts with their Confucian values, that is, benevolence in humility and gratitude for what they have.

Data12 was impressed with how his parents, who did not have much disposable income, gave within their means in small ways. When growing up, he noticed that his mother was always volunteering to help in nursing homes for the elderly and in the temples. She would say, "Always help whenever or whatever you can afford to do it." Data12 noted, "My father's volunteerism was mostly with the Hokkien Clans." There

was plenty of philanthropic action in his home environment despite not having much financial capability, and this "all hearts" spirit and type of volunteerism was firmly imprinted onto the G2s in his family. When Data12 became wealthy, it was thus quite natural for him to establish a company foundation and a family office to run the family foundation as part of continuing his parents' philanthropic actions. Data12 is also not religious but confirmed that his home life today is filled with Confucian values, which he tries hard to keep in the family even when all his children are studying in Western universities overseas. Witnessing kind and generous acts, influence from parents, and Confucianism home values — these all play a part, and Data12 reaffirmed that "Charity starts at home."

Data12 continued,

> In every generation/cycle, there are always some leaders who feel a responsibility to come out to lead and pull others along. Asians are always thinking like this. If you can make it, you should always give back to society. Return to the source where you benefitted from. This is a Chinese value. If you wonder whether this is an Asian value or Chinese/Confucian value . . . perhaps other races also have this value. I can say most people have good intention to give back, but everyone has their own way of doing things.

Coming from parents and grandparents who were from very humble backgrounds, Data17 noted that his first imprint of generosity was, "Not having to be rich to be generous, giving, and caring." He added,

> Though poor, I saw my parents giving food and caring for other neighbors who were worst off or just as poor as themselves. I stayed with my maternal Chinese grandparents whose thinking and their philanthropic action loudly shouts: It does not take to be rich to be philanthropic.

Data16's grandfather volunteered as a fireman, social worker, and other public services in Shanghai (which were very much broken during the late 1800s in China as it was very chaotic toward the end of the dynastic era). Here is how Data16 described the influence of her grandparents:

> Grandfather spoke English, which was very progressive for those times, and volunteered in the firemen corps; formed a para-militia to defend the local community from Japanese; coordinated distribution of *black gold*: to improve the life of farmers, started a School of Agriculture with professors and gave out scholarships to help improve agriculture (until civil war between KMT and CCP).
>
> My grandmother, a strong woman with high personal morals, was steeped in Confucian values which she institutionalized as our family values that everyone in the family lived by and practiced as a way of life. Since we were raised in quite a privileged home environment with everything provided, my own mother's daily mothering experiences provided us with ample opportunities in philanthropic action. For example, caring, respect, and humility for people in our household and outsiders; sharing our toys and clothes, volunteering aid; giving alms on the street, extend care & love in times of need, seeing and experiencing reality on the ground.

As a child, I remember, in winter months, she would gather our clothes and distributed them herself, and she taught us to give respectfully:

- Sharing and caring for others in a time of huge social disparity
- She had humility and I could feel it was in a genuine sense
- My mom brought us to a temple, and we slept on a plank to understand what it was like to when others must do this; she made us feel it by trying it out
- She showed kindness in big ways and small ways: how she offered care and kindness by giving out to charity, e.g. on the street when she saw people in need she would just stop and give as compelled to help, no qualms or thinking too hard whether to extend assistance to the other party.

Data7 grew up in Lee Kong Chian's house as a granddaughter. She remembered being harshly scolded at the age of three when she threw tantrums to get her nanny to

carry her up the stairs. One time, just as she was perched on her nanny's back going up the stairs, her grandfather was coming down the stairs and got into a fit, demanding that the nanny put Data7 down onto the floor and let her make the effort herself and not bully the nanny into doing something that she was capable of doing. This value applied across the board in all family matters. There was also a strong and clear message pervading the household that the children would not inherit wealth. Instead, they would have the advantage of a very good education, all the help they needed to excel, and access to whatever resources they needed to succeed; but it was up to them to make what they could of this kind of support. Data7 shared that the Lee family values were foundationally influenced by Tan Kah Kee, who believed the following:

> One should not give away wealth to children but only enough for them to get by because if they are able, they can make their own money; and if they are worthless, they are going to lose away your money. Tan Kah Kee was so extreme that he barely left the descendants much . . . just enough to get by. The bulk of his fortune went back to society.

Pointing to what may be the source of his high personal ethical morals, Data14 said, "My father was poor but honest." He recalls his father's honest virtue despite being poor and eking out a living to put food on the table. "He was an honest man and maybe too honest by heart." This might be why Data14 is so strongly ethical himself:

> You can say all you want, and talk a lot, at the end of the day, it is your word. Ethics is my value system. Whatever field you are in, ethics still stand. Sometimes, you need someone to open the window for you to see. Today, people just sign papers and think that is ethics. What is not right is not right — that's the first basis point. What is not mine is not mine.

Data19 attributes his father and those before him for laying down the value systems built from family ancestry (which he refers to as "good genes" or DNA of the

ancestry) and Christian religious values that involve living out a principled life daily with small acts of respect toward people around you, for example, daily good acts and social justice whenever these come into your path, that is, "do what is right in every situation."

These were the values that his father impressed upon Data19 when he was young. He remembered his father chiding him for not greeting the doorman whenever they passed the front door. Even the week that his father was in the hospital and passed away, he continued to remind Data19 of the importance of greeting and acknowledging the staff and medical team at the hospital.

As suggested by Professor Sara Konrath's research, practicing such daily small acts cultivates prosocial behavior such as volunteerism, giving, reaching out to help others, that is, "love of mankind" virtues, for example, participation in volunteerism and the giving away of money to ease suffering, providing expertise to create opportunities, uplifting the mundane, and mentoring that transform lives. Such acts in turn bring about increased psychological well-being, happiness, purpose, and fulfillment in life.[43] In a large research project from an independent research lab that tracked more than 900 older adults over a period of nine years, it was found that the more money respondents donated at the beginning of the study, the higher their psychological well-being was nine years later, even when controlling for baseline well-being, physical health, income, education, religiosity, and general social integration.[44]

[43] Sara Konrath, "The Power of Philanthropy and Volunteering," in *Interventions and Policies to Enhance Wellbeing: A Complete Reference Guide, Volume VI* (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2014), 1–40, doi:10.1002/9781118539415.wbwell11.
[44] Namkee G. Choi and Jinseok Kim, "The Effect of Time Volunteering and Charitable Donations in Later Life on Psychological Wellbeing," *Ageing & Society* 31, no. 4 (2011): 590–610.

In a smaller study of sixteen participants, it was found that respondents who chose to spend more of their money (an employment bonus) on others felt happier two months later compared to those who spent more of their bonus on themselves.[45] Taken together, the research provides pretty strong evidence that feeling happy causes people to give and help more, and that giving and helping causes an increase in happiness and subjective well-being. In fact, there seems to be a positive feedback loop such that happiness begets giving and giving begets happiness, and so on.[46] This was echoed by Data15 in my study: "We give because it 'feels good' and are 'happy' to share. We feel the happiness and fulfillment and joy in giving."

Data18's values were shaped through his mother's role modeling and her living proof as a *Force for Good* during her personal tragedies at home. He appreciates his mother's strength, bravery, and love – always ensuring that the children at home did not go hungry despite a gambling father who was not consistent in bringing home his paycheck and whose gambling debts also burdened the family. While sacrificing herself to make ends meet at home, she did not stop instilling in her children the virtues of honesty, thriftiness, generosity, giving, and helping others in need, for example, old, handicapped beggars. No matter how poor his family was, her ethical stance was still to "always do the right thing; never to trade our characters and integrity for financial gains." Because of a challenging family background that put the family in dire circumstances regularly, Data18 can empathize readily with the poor and needy, understanding how they are trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty.

[45] Elizabeth W. Dunn, Lara B. Aknin, and Michael I. Norton, "Spending Money on Others Promotes Happiness," *Science* 319, no. 5870 (2008): 1687–1688, https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/11189976.
[46] Konrath, "The Power of Philanthropy and Volunteering."

Data5's ancestor-grandmother, Mrs. Lee Choon Guan, provided the inspiration for his current philanthropy and involvement in public service. She lived in the pre–World War II, British colonial period in Singapore. Married to a wealthy man, she carried out leading-edge community work as a progressive woman in the context of the times (those were times when it was not acceptable for Asian women to be seen carrying out active roles in the community). Possessing a giving nature, his ancestor-grandmother stood out as a community leader and was very much ahead of her times; she advocated for the poor and needy, the elderly, and children and inspired others with her special benevolence. Data5 provided the following example:

> She and her circle of friends went all out of their way and bent backwards to do philanthropy — they formed Giving Circles among the rich womenfolk to collect/raise funds; they would save on household budgets and "siphon" these home funds from their wealthy husbands to do charitable work. They would use the resources of their husbands to mobilize for the public good. Even when women in those days did not have the frontline influence, they were very entrepreneurial in their philanthropic work.

The source of Data13's values came from being around people who served as a guiding hand to help him overcome his own difficulties while growing up. He started life in poverty, warfare, political upheaval, economic chaos, and with death looming not so far away, but at the passing of his beloved mother when he was eight years old, Data13 experienced his father's love and wisdom, which is what helped him endure profound sorrow and pick up his life again. He recalled the values of his father: "A family's wealth depends on the upbringing of its children, a company's success depends on talent, and a nation's prosperity depends on access to education."[47] Data13's upbringing was steeped

[47] Riady, 124–52.

in Confucian values that came with his Chinese upbringing, but he also attributes his values to the high moral and ethical standards to which his wife holds him:[48]

> While I was still working in banking, a customer once gave me a very precious gift: four gold bars. I had never seen a gold bar with my own eyes and returned home with them in a state of great excitement. After laying eyes on the gold bars, Limei cross-examined me about where they had come from. Having found out they were a gift from a customer, she very sternly warned me that I had to take them back — the reason being that if l accepted such an expensive gift, it would leave me in my customer's debt; it was like selling my freedom for riches. Limei's warning reminded me of my father who, when I was a child, had told me not to accept gifts from others because that would become a debt that would have to be repaid. I accepted Limei's advice and immediately returned the gold bars. Limei has always kept an eye on my morality and integrity, and frequently reminds me that she wishes me to be honest and upstanding.

Religious Influence

Religion was cited quite frequently as a source of values that shaped philanthropic action, either as a singular factor or, often, along with other factors. Data8 was quick to relate her philanthropic values to religion:

> I have strong views about what it is to be a practicing Catholic, e.g. allowing the Lord to use me as a vessel to do his work; keeping faith with God on my purpose for what I am to do and how to act in daily life. I will carry out philanthropy through my new Foundation, putting God's love into action by creating lasting solutions to poverty and social injustice. Being the Lord's vessel to make possible HIS plan. Providing the tools for Father Olivier to do the Lord's work, i.e. start and run the St Paul Institute in Cambodia, to whose people he has devoted his life. The good work that people like Father Olivier do on the ground makes possible the manifestation of my philanthropy.

Data1 echoes the same thinking:

> It is better to give than to receive, and really, the Lord has been very generous to me. Therefore, Christian values play a significant part in shaping my philanthropy – being molded and formed by Christian values, I am like a channel for God's generosity to me . . . a channel for his love,

[48] Riady, 295–97.

> guidance, mercy, generosity. I have been receiving the blessings of the Lord throughout my privileged life, so quoting Mother Theresa, "whatever you do to these poor ones, you do for me" which came from the Bible, and "what you help of the poor, the sick, elderly, little ones, the prisoners, the widowed, you do through me."

Attributing her philanthropic work to religion, Data1 explained, "Christian values have formed the way I am . . .. This is what I believe formed me and makes me do what I do now."

As mentioned earlier, Data18 came from a dysfunctional family in which his father was a habitual gambler, always harassing his mother for money and borrowing and getting into debt, with loan sharks thrashing their home. Data18 therefore endured personal times of challenges, vulnerability, and dire home circumstances when he was growing up. Determined not to be like his father, Data18 adopted a different set of values based on the Christian faith. He found solace, comfort, and actionable help from his parish church – dedicated pastoral care from pastors and youth workers who did not ask for anything in return. Benefitting directly from the privacy and sensitive care of the church in his most vulnerable times and receiving unconditional monthly allowances, even without asking for them, formed his value of giving back to the church. Today he gives unconditionally to his church even without being asked.

The situation was similar for Data17:

> My father's Indian side were Christians who went to church. We were poor and were recipients and beneficiaries of the church. We kept receiving: my father was a civil servant with one income; before the end of the month, money would run out and we really needed money. The church gave money at our thirstiest . . . That memory of getting help when we were thirsty is unforgettable. As migrants, my family could not afford to celebrate Xmas; I only got to experience the generosity of Xmas through the church; I went to the church Xmas party to get the Xmas gift, and savored it …. Religion formed my value system also because the

> teachings from the Bible resonated with me and my life. Jesus teaches in the Bible of the woman who gave 5 Linares had so little and yet gave 80% of what she had, but the Pharaohs giving only 1% of their wealth. I believe that when giving, one must give till it is painful – I quote Mother Theresa. Give not just to satisfy optical obligations.

Data17 shared another religion-inspired value about his philanthropy:

> Additionally, when I give back to society, I prefer to be anonymous. I would not have been philanthropic if it is too "loud" and egoistical because the best glory to the Lord is served when the recipient does not know who the source/donor is. This is so recipient is not obligated and does not need to have any shame to take the money. Just as the Bible says, "when your right hand gives, the left hand should not know." Similarly, when I volunteer to serve in ministry, I would serve in those areas where nobody wants to do and there's no limelight type, e.g. funeral ministry.

Having experienced death-threatening mental health conditions in his early adult life, Data20 became a devout Buddhist. His Buddhist understanding of meditation and the enormous untapped capability of the human mind led him to become curious about the science of the human brain and mind, which has profoundly influenced his philanthropic giving to focus on neurological, mind/brain research. He has pledged vehemently to donate $1 billion for this research for the benefit of mankind.

Data9 admitted that he was raised to be a filial son, but he attributed that to teachings instilled through a religious Christian upbringing. Although his grandfather Tan Chin Tuan was not a Christian (in that he did not go to church), he grew up in a Methodist school environment, and his wife was from a family with strong church and Christian connections. His day-to-day environment and way of life was more Christian than Confucianism, and his daily life was more Peranakan than strictly Chinese. Data9 recalled that, although they never observed the Ching Ming tomb sweeping festival, which is a key Confucianism festival ritual (sweeping of ancestors' tombs is a

demonstration of filial piety). There were times when grandfather Tan Chin Tuan would say, “Hey . . . go visit your great-grandfather’s grave.” Data9 said that he found out where his great-grandfather’s grave was located and visited during the Chinese Ching Ming as part of engaging in relationship with his grandfather.

Similarly, Data14 is Catholic with little trace of Confucianism in his family environment. He raised his son and family as practicing Catholics, and he attributes his strong sense of ethics to an honest vein in his father, and his modus operandi in business is “word-of-mouth” commitment and honor. He is however guarded in attributing his strong sense of ethics to religion. Instead, he feels that his sense of ethics is more a personal value that comes from within himself.

It is quite clear that there is room for juxtaposition in the experiences of Data9 and Data14. That said, they (Data9 and Data14) rationalize and express quite nicely the tug-of-war in which ethnic Chinese sometimes find themselves, and hence the diversity in the continuum of Chineseness. Data19 recalls that his grandmother lived the life of a devout Christian and acted out Christian values daily throughout her lifetime, but said, “We have been Christians for many generations, and we had inherited it from ancestors many generations ago. It has passed down and shaped our religious beliefs as our family is today a Christian family, but Confucianism is always in the background — every Chinese practices Confucianism.” Data19 and his family layered religious beliefs with Confucian-centric living and seemed to integrate both as part of what he labels as “good genetics” or DNA of the ancestry.

Data13 expressed gratitude for his sons’ show of devotion to the Word of God and for their faith in the Lord and the Bible as their enlightenment, and he credited the

Christian faith as being his guiding light in his adult years when his business was prospering and turning into a global conglomerate. Most importantly, his faith taught him that there was more than one way to judge success.[49] His father was steeped in Confucianism values, and Data13 continues with the Confucian way of life and commitment to ancestry, alongside strong Christian religious values. He does not feel there needs to be a compromise between the two sets of values in his philanthropic action. His giving is an outgrowth of his Christian religion as well as his equally strong Chinese heritage and commitment to ancestral lineage coming from Confucianism values.[50]

Confucian Values

Both Confucius and Mencius regarded philanthropy as "the distinguishing characteristic of man, as one of the fundamental constituents of nobleness and superiority of character."[51] Data10, a G3 having been educated in the United States and now returned to Singapore to oversee the family office and foundation, maintained that remembering past generations is a way of practicing one of the most important of Confucian values, filial piety: "We share that through philanthropy as a family and it is the glue that holds the family together."

Data10 explained as follows:

> After much discussion, we have distilled 5 values as our family's values — inspired by Confucian values and they each in turn translates into how we carry out the philanthropic work of the Foundation. Here below, I introduce these 5 values using Chinese characters and Mandarin *Pinyin:*

[49] Riady, xxix.
[50] Riady, xxix–xxxi.
[51] Thomas Menkhoff, "Chinese Philanthropy in Southeast Asia: Between Continuity and Change," 2009, 63, https://ink.library.smu.edu.sg/lien_research/22.

- *Xiao* from 孝顺 = Filial Piety: Honoring parents in philanthropy
- *He* from 和谐 = Harmony: Bringing family together in philanthropy
- *Qing* from 勤勉 = Diligence: Persevering in philanthropic action
- *Jian* from 节俭 = Frugal: Saving to give away in philanthropy
- *En* from 感恩 = Grace, Kindness, Benevolence, Thanksgiving and Gratitude: Being charitable, compassionate, extending help, giving generously, through philanthropic action

Such a worldview with roots in Confucian culture calls attention to the influence Confucianism has on diasporic Chinese who have settled in Southeast Asia and how it shapes their decisions in giving, generosity, helping others, and volunteerism and philanthropic action overall. Confucian values seep into daily lives through rituals, practices, and traditions, creating a culture that associates the *Self* with ancestry. The Chinese adopt this as their way of life.[52]

Data15's family shares the same perspective as Data10 in that her family practices Confucianism and ancestral worship but is not religious, and she attributes the source of their philanthropic action to their belief and worldview of Confucianism. However, her family does not see a need to form a foundation because they expect each future generation to do *Good* (including philanthropic action) and to carry out all that the Confucian values uphold. When asked how these values are passed down and moved into each new generation, she answered:

> We all see our parents and grandparents do it in their daily lives, and so we follow and know we are expected to do it when our turn comes to continuing what they have started, and maybe even do something more than them if we are able to. In this way, *Doing Good* has become a part of a way of life for our family and each generation plays their part to uphold the values of the ancestry.

[52] Anna Sun, *Confucianism as a World Religion: Contested Histories and Contemporary Realities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 80, 129.

In that way, the family members are identifying themselves as a link in the human chain that goes all the way back to their ancestors and the family lineage. Data15 and her sisters have continued giving to the organizations that their parents gave to — the Tong Chai Hospital, the Kwong Wai Shiu Hospital, and Buddhist temples. In addition, they have unassumingly added something new by endowing two scholarship funds as well as rooms in their parents' name at local Singapore universities.

Data12 admitted to having a home life that was not religious but that was surrounded by Confucian values when he was growing up. He believes there is a certain moral value; that is, "Every generation, there are always some leaders to come out to lead and pull others along. Asians are always thinking like this: If you can make it, you should always give back to society. Return to the source where you benefitted from. This is a Chinese value, but with Confucian roots."

Data3 prefers to give with humility as part of Confucianism practice. Thus, he and his family members prefer to give quietly and engage in philanthropy in a low-profile manner. Their father was the one making money, and he understood and valued education highly. Even while upholding Confucian values, in which boys were more valued than girls, Data3's generation had good opportunities in education, including the girls; even during their grandparents' time, the girls had the opportunity to go overseas for education, which was very progressive. Data3 noted the following:

> Father was a rice merchant and good investor, but very frugal, thrifty and wastage was frowned upon at home with "waste not want not" reminders often; there were few luxuries though we did not lack in essentials — we led a rather austere but happy lifestyle. Mother was the parent with a more charitable nature who showed us what the values looked like when acted upon. So, she passed down the values we have today, and we still reach out to the financially needy regularly. She was the one who always contributed to charities when we were growing up, especially in the

> healthcare sector as she worried for the less fortunate. But my parents always did not want their giving to be too loud . . . following Confucianism values of our grandfather, our great-grandfather and those before us . . . they came from China and were Ministers, government officials who passed the Imperial Exams.

Data21's family took Chinese "Xiao," the value of filial piety, one step further to bind the generations together through ancestral rituals and practices, even though the G2 and G3 members of the family spend much time living in the West. Spiritual but not religious, Data21 believes that Confucianism is more a philosophy of wisdom and compassion than a religion. Because her parents and grandparents' generations lived in China during a time of chaos, fear, dynastic turbulence, and back-and-forth political changing of the guard, their high priority was survival. Hence their philanthropy manifested itself in terms of compassion, caring, social justice, self-help, mutual aid, and a *Force for Good.*

For Data16, her wisdom of compassion kicks in very quickly and compels her to jump into philanthropic action whenever there's an opportunity:

> It would be an insult to myself; I could not take it, so I get into action to help and extend myself to do something about it. For example, I went to Dharasala to listen to the Dalai Lama, and saw this tiny nun carrying a load 2 times or more of her own weight . . . she was laboring and straining to move each step forward. I jumped up to help her . . . my friend was even better; she just got a cab for the women upon seeing me help her.

Data16 passes on these values of philanthropic action to her children in a unique way:

> I have a "family matching program" where when I see my children helping others, I match their efforts. Seeing is believing for my children too: my son was totally in a shock when he saw the child/children in India naked. What do I say to him? I let him see it and feel it for himself that others don't have the privilege he has. For my daughter who has just completed Vassar undergrad, she just realized that not everyone is privileged like her to be able to fly whenever she chooses.

Data16 was glad her daughter announced, “I can’t afford to go home for vacation. I have to make money and save money for next semester.” Her daughter now works in New York City and even learned how to sublet her apartment for the two weeks when she is not in town so that she could also earn extra cash.

The G1 diasporic Chinese successfully relied on Confucian values for survival and later thrived and prospered. As sojourners, they came with a mandate to send remittances home to help their families and extended families and villages in order to keep their ancestral reputation in good order and to ensure that their “same kind” (same village, same dialect group, same family name) had the resources to overcome the turbulence and chaos in China of those times.

Data6 emphasized the following:

> They earlier did not envision to help the others outside of their tight clan and village circles or the world — this was their philanthropic action as influenced by cultural traditions wrapped into Confucianism values. Today, they are looking to help outside of the family; but still take care of your own kind first, then move outside . . . As ethnic Chinese began to settle into different lands in Southeast Asia, and their Confucian world view intercept and mix with other religious values, e.g. Buddhism (in Thailand), Catholicism (in Philippines), Christianity (in Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia), it affected how their philanthropy was practiced.

Personal Morals and Ethics

Data14 attributes his philanthropic action to personal morals that come from within and that he acquired them “genetically”. Data 14 explains:

> Ethics is my value system; it is different for different people at different levels of evolution in terms of personal morals. Opening your eyes to see what’s right and wrong can come in the form of assistance from another person, but your own ethical morals must make it real.

Data14 gave an example:

> Making your word count is Ethics; signing lawyer papers and documents is not ethics. Environment and opportunities surrounded by ethics emerge from a "ready soul." Having come a long way, humanity has not conquered ethics and morals. We think we have come a long way . . . knowledge wise — yes, but when it comes to human relations and human development, we have not moved an inch.

Because his education was interrupted in his teen years due to home circumstances, Tan Chin Tuan became emphatic about education later in life when he was a philanthropist. Missing out on a formal education made him appreciate education even more and forged the personal values he placed on education. Data9 believes that his grandfather's early brush with financial instability when he was a teenager had an impact on how he supported the needy and access to education in later years:

> When he was 17 his father died suddenly, and all the family assets were frozen in a trust, and the trustees refused to release it without a fight. So, Tan Chin Tuan had to start work at 17, and kind of went through his own tough patch. Although his father was rich, there was this life occurrence where his father died suddenly . . . no money . . . mother was not employed . . . his brother was 10 years younger . . . so he had to go out to work to support the family. So, I think he understood how it was to be suddenly left bereaved without income and having to struggle on his own. That's why one segment of his philanthropy has always been to help those less well-off and without the means. His values were therefore forged by empathy since he was in the same shoes for a while.

Practicing Chinese culture through his Peranakan lifestyle and his wife's Christian lifestyle, Tan Chin Tuan was very westernized in the way he divested his wealth and inheritance. Data9 remembers him as being practical and as living in the reality of the moment with an outlook that went beyond that of being Chinese with Confucianism and ancestral worship. Tan Chin Tuan's giving was a very Anglo-Saxon way of being charitable: helping the poor, the needy, and widows — more aligned with Christianity

than with ancestral worship. Data9 believes that he personally has a mandate to take good care of his grandfather's legacy and good name, "To make sure my grandfather's reputation continues. During my lifetime at least: to ensure his reputation is maintained, exemplified, magnified." It is then not surprising that Data9 disagrees with the notion that Confucianism values are all encompassing. He argues that being filial is also part of the values of Christianity and other religions where "honor thy father and mother" is also a key virtue. Data9 disagrees with labeling good practices and universal values such as remembering your ancestors as "Confucian."

Returning to the source from which you drank — this is another personal value forged by the G1 diasporic Chinese. Data1 espoused this personal value of Lien Ying Chow:

> Remembering the act of kindness and caring that gave him a new lease in life, Lien Ying Chow returns a favor in gratitude and appreciation in kind to the uncle's family in perpetuity by extending his own wealth into the uncle's family in the form of shares ownership of Lien Ying Chow's holding company . . . if not for his uncle's helping hand that put him on a boat to Singapore and set him up to settle into a coolie job and living arrangements, he would have perished as a child orphan in the chaotic and tumultuous China during those times.

Coming from humble beginnings, the G1 diasporic Chinese remembered what a struggle it had been for them. They were almost at the brink of perishing in China when they took a chance and left China in search of new economic opportunities. As "thirsty beneficiaries who drank water from the timely jug of philanthropy," they remembered tasting water after having wandered thirstily in a desert for a long time. Therefore, when they made it in life, they wanted to provide water to the thirsty (give in a timely and

generous fashion) for the thirsty (the needy). Data1 saw this again and again with G1 diasporic Chinese:

> Developing values of philanthropy under dire circumstances of poverty and failure forms these values and worldview. Having been a beneficiary of a helping hand and philanthropic love molds you in a spiritual way to want to do the same for others in the same boat . . . combining with Chinese traditions, they are passed down to the next generations. It appears that the values emerge from these settings and then are passed down through traditions.

Tan Kah Kee spread his wealth around for education and other charitable purposes as well as for political modernization and the survival of China as a nation.[53] But where did Tan Kah Kee learn or get his values from? Having been educated in Confucian classics when young, Tan Kah Kee was, to a great degree, exposed to the Confucian ethical system and ideology. This is borne out by the fact that he became involved in promoting Confucian values as an office-bearer of the Straits Confucian Association in 1927.[54]

Data6 believes that Tan Kah Kee had personal morals that were unique in that he felt a personal responsibility to reach out to help massive numbers of people. For example, Tan Kah Kee tried to level the playing field so that everyone could have access to education:

> He possessed a heart of purity that carried an inborn righteous, a sense of responsibility, a sense of values, more than any normal person — there's only one of such persons in each generation. He saw it as his moral responsibility to seek social justice for girls to be educated because he saw girls as part of humanity, and he saw value in "everybody" and strongly and truly believed that everybody deserved a fair chance. It is humanity that he loved. It comes out from the heart to help. He was a human of high morals and put it into action. He was a man of philanthropy with a deep love for humankind.

[53] Yong, Gonzalo, and Mar, 108–09.
[54] Yong, Gonzalo, and Mar, 159.

Data6 shared yet another example why he admires Tan Kah Kee:

> His father, Tan Kee Pek, had a 2nd wife (in Singapore then) who was quite a gambler. When Tan Kah Kee went back to China . . . and then returned to Singapore, he found the rice business was downhill and in a lot of debt (piled up by his father's 2nd wife in Singapore). Tan Kah Kee fulfilled the payment of all these debts . . . he honored all the debts of his father and mother and took personal responsibility to settle it the debts for them.

Learning about values theoretically is one thing, but having to live them, and during a time and historical context when values were tested (and often), was another thing. For example, Tan Kah Kee's value system was thus forged by fire and historical experiences of the times. Between 1917 and 1935, he responded in philanthropic action and led the following:[55]

- In 1917, he chaired the Tientsin Flood Relief Fund of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce.
- In 1918, he was treasurer of the Kwangtung Flood Relief Fund under the auspices of the Tong Chai Medical Institution.
- In 1924, he chaired the Kwangtung Flood Relief Fund under the auspices of the Tong Chai Medical Institution.
- In 1925, he chaired the Singapore Children Protection Association Maintenance Fun.
- In 1934, he chaired the recovery committee of the Bukit Ho Swee fire in Singapore, where 7,000 people were left homeless.

Tan Kah Kee offered the best of himself and chose these ways to fulfill his social responsibility (along with his determination to support accessibility to education for all and champion the right for girls to be educated), and this was how he utilized and

[55] Yong, Gonzalo, and Mar 107–8.

dispensed his wealth for the common good. He had two principles in regard to money: (1) "Wealth is painstakingly amassed by me and should therefore be generously contributed by me" — in any way he saw fit; and (2) He likened money to fertilizer, which, to be useful, had to be spread around.[56]

Data19's father, Hong Kong's TH Chan, was an extraordinary man whose lifetime of ethical living and daily high morals forged the family's value system. TH Chan was an astute businessman who accumulated wealth to give back to society for the relief of suffering, health care for the disadvantaged, opportunities and access to education through scholarships, and more. Christian values passed down from his grandmother were also inspiration to the family to be a *Force for Good* in their everyday lives. However, humming right alongside was a strong sense of Confucianism that converged with religiosity. In honor of his father's values, Data19 and his family have endowed and named the School of Public Health in Harvard University with philanthropic gift of US$350 million.

What were TH Chan's values and how did he forge them to become the family's values? Data19 shared some of his father's personal values that had a strong bearing on the family's value system:

- Treasure friendships above business pragmatism; be trustworthy.
- Know the value of money; use it to give back to society.
- Be principled with extraordinary integrity; do not succumb to bribes to government officials.
- Be compassionate to others' suffering; for example, carrying handicapped up the flights of stairs to their homes.

[56] Yong, Gonzalo, and Mar, 108.

- Strong sense of civic-mindedness caused him to question why his son was awarded a scholarship. TH Chan was concerned that the scholarship might have overtaxed community resources, when his family could have afforded to pay the tuition.

- Give help to all requests for scholarships to provide access to education.

- Empathy for the children in his neighborhood who do not have access to health care, TH Chan teamed up with his wife to gather the neighborhood's children for vaccinations.

- Respect people from all walks of life; as mentioned earlier, even in his weakness on the week of his death, he chided his son for not greeting the doorman.

- Showed humility and kindness on many occasions. For example, in altruism, he stripped off his watch and gave it to a friend who didn't have one on his wrist – for TH Chan, it was the right thing to do instinctively.

Aspirations for *Greater Good*

Over time, the various sources of values work together to form a value system to engender altruism and aspirations for the *Greater Good*. As aspirations germinate and unfold, they eventually manifest as prosocial behavior and philanthropic action. Some people's aspirations and behavior result from the onset of a vision, whereas it may take longer for other people to feel the impulse to extend help to others or to experience moments of altruism. Regardless, value systems truly pave the way for aspirations to catalyze, and aspirations become manifested as prosocial behavior that leads us deeper into philanthropy.

The data derived from interviewees were analyzed to organize these subcategories:

1. Beacon of Light
2. Beneficence for Public Good
3. Gratitude and Compassion in Altruism
4. Access to Education
5. Activism for Social Justice

Beacon of Light

Having struggled for decades before making his mark in society, Lien Ying Chow regretted not having the opportunity to have an education. "Giving to education was thus naturally an aspiration and priority because of what he missed out on in his youth," shared Data1. Data2 added, "Giving through clans by paying it forward was also Lien Ying Chow's aspiration . . . when you were poor, other people helped you, so now that you are able to, you pay it forward and the elderly Lien was determined to help others thrive and excel." Data1 gives from her personal funds, and like a beacon of light, she wants uses her generosity to help others thrive and prosper:

> I give not because I want to have a name. I want to feel that I have done my bit for society. I want to give back what the good Lord has given me, so to speak. I am seeking more for easing my own conscience. Very often it is to ease my own conscience, and I feel that I've been so fortunate, so lucky . . . that kind of feeling. But I don't aspire to be the No. 1 philanthropist in Singapore, or the biggest donor for this. And the only reason I put my name there, it is to identify as separate from the Lien Foundation — that it is my own. I do this only because other housewives . . . when they see that I have donated, it helps others to come forward to also give generously with the thinking, "I'm sure she [Data1 in this case] surely would have done the due diligence to know this is a good cause." In that respect, I allow my name to be used. I feel good. I feel good emotionally and spiritually.

Data1 continued,

> As a housewife — there's not very much that you can do . . . unless you are going out to a day-care center and physically helping out; but those days are over for me. So, when I donate and know that it is being put to good use, I feel good. I feel very at peace. Very at peace that I have not been selfish . . . you know it all sounds so. . .. I feel at peace — you have done what you should have done. Because I have always said, and I have seen that many of my friends have got the money, but they just don't give. Ask and they will give excuses, or they will give a very miserly sum. But who is to judge, right? It is not for us to judge why you give so little, or why you don't give at all. When I see them, and I see myself — I can say to myself, "I have done right."

Data4 talked about Mrs. Lee Choon Guan who lived during the British colonial era before World War II. Widowed at a young age and socialized into her husband's privileged and wealthy background, Mrs. Lee took on many pioneering roles in the colonial Singapore social scene in the early 1900s. She set a precedent in numerous ways for women to advance in social standing and pushed the boundaries to break the glass ceiling for women to participate in philanthropic action, as detailed by Data4:

- Mrs. Lee had a heart for women's causes. In July 1922, she laid the foundation stone for St Andrew's Hospital for Women and Children and continued to donate money and raise funds toward its completion.

- In March 1918, Mrs. Lee became the first Chinese lady in Singapore to be made a Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (M.B.E.) by King George V.

- In 1916, as was noted above, the Chinese Ladies' Association with Mrs. Lee at the helm burst into public consciousness and provided an avenue for Straits Chinese girls to converse in English, meet women outside their families, and learn from each other and the prominent, cosmopolitan women who were its members.

Beneficence for Public Good

In so many ways, the setting that the G1 found themselves in gave them the best sense of *Doing Good* because they were very poor, they struggled and had little to

nothing to start with, yet they experienced the love of a helping hand and generosity that gave them a new life. That setting forged a mindset that generated compassion, gratitude, and beneficence — all within a short period of time during which their motherland was thrown into tumultuous chaos and they were forced into migration for survival. In that respect, Data10 shared the rationale for her family's foundation:

> Giving from the Tanoto Foundation is based on the needs of the community/society and at the same time, it is also what we care about. In making decisions on what and where to support, the foundation and family are guided by data to understand what will make the greatest impact for public good. For example, in Indonesia, resources for human development and fostering talent. In China, quite similarly, talent pipeline is top priority. But in Singapore, we support medical research.

Data13 in his memoirs shared his joy and warm glow when his aspirations for the beneficence for public good came to fruition: "I also find great pleasure in the numerous schools and hospitals that have been built by the Lippo Group and the Riady family foundation," as confirmed by President B. J. Habibie of Indonesia and reported in his memoirs:

> I have seen the importance of human capital and technology in enabling any country to achieve its full potential. As President of Indonesia, it is this transformation in human capital and technology, and the impact they have on people's lives that is amongst my proudest achievements. Pak Mochtar has been an excellent entrepreneur in his endeavor to build up our country in these two areas and I am grateful that our country has such enlightened community leaders.[57]

When comparing G1 with G2, Data16 was quick to criticize G2's lack of passion for the beneficence for public good:

> They are far wealthier, having inherited much wealth from G1 who worked and slogged so hard to put the family onto a path of economic prosperity. However, G2 ethnic Chinese are not as generous and proactive

[57] Riady, xxi.

> in philanthropic action as G1. The latter built the wealth with their own hands with their own sweat and blood and rolled up their sleeves in terms of philanthropic action of their times — there was so much to do and accomplish after World War II and they did it despite the challenges and harsh environment.

Data16 considers what most G2 have manifested in philanthropy as "transactional philanthropy"; that is, they go through the motions but are not giving generously and with little or no impact in many cases. Whereas G1 had a passionate desire for beneficence for the public good and aspired to be a *Force for Good,* Data16 shared how challenging it is for G2, who may have the values, morals, and all, but find it hard to evolve meaningful aspirations:

> They do things . . . though not sure why they want to do it. Not passionate about it . . . just doing it. Don't know what they are looking for . . . dispatch staff to find things — so they are paid to do something. They really need to go down to the ground to feel it; they need to have empathy with the people — perhaps start by asking, being curious. See and observe what their lives are like . . . understand what people on the ground really want. . .. maybe people just want to live securely in their own communities, neighborhoods and memories, control of their lives, with purpose and meaning . . . maybe to learn something, and a reason to get up each day to do something — something so basic.

Data16 heaved a sigh of relief and said, "However it is truly wonderful that Millennials (G3 and G4) are different and flag a possible return to G1 as they have aspirations for social good and civic engagement — they want social impact and to make a difference, and they roll up their sleeves!"

Gratitude and Compassion in Altruism

During the interviews, many cases of compassion and empathy shined through as prosocial behavior or philanthropic action. Gratitude was plentiful. There was an outpouring of how lucky the interviewees felt to have been endowed with a privileged

life or blessed with success in business and family. They expressed deep appreciation and immense gratitude and shared how they have proactively translated their aspirations into altruistic prosocial behavior and philanthropy to benefit others and society at large.

Data11 feels a responsibility to help when sensing others are in danger. A part of her life philosophy is to do what she can for another person, money or otherwise, and hence she aspires to "always look out for others all the time — that's what life is about!" She attributes this to personally witnessing and understanding why her father empathized and showed compassion even for the poor who had passed away. Her father was in the habit of buying coffins and arranging last rites for the dead who had no one to give them a dignified burial. She has also witnessed such behavior in her husband, who left her SGD5 million in his will to be completely drawn down to help others in suffering or to uplift and create opportunities to transform another's life.

Data19 remembers his father, regularly reminding his children to always greet, respect, and say "hi" to the doorman and other working-class people so that they would feel recognized and valued for their work. TH Chan even consulted his servants and nannies on their insights and views because he was grateful for good people working for him and respected their insights. Data19 and his siblings knew that if there was an argument between them and the nannies or servants, the siblings would always lose. TH Chan grew up poor with no education and was therefore in the lower rungs of society when he was young. As a result, he had great compassion and empathy for this social class.

Data8 remembers a time when she experienced turmoil in her personal life, and when she had the opportunity, she took her share out of the family business and used the

funds to establish a formal foundation, the Khoo Chwee Neo Foundation. In gratitude, she formalized her aspiration to do God's work of compassion and to relieve suffering through philanthropy, as reflected in her foundation's three giving priorities: well-rounded care programs for the elderly poor; educational access to underprivileged and special needs children; and rehabilitation programs for children.

Data10 and her family appreciate their privileged position and are grateful to Indonesia. Despite being discriminated against during the Indonesian Confrontasi in 1963 through 1966 under Indonesian President Sukarno, they do not shy or pull away from doing philanthropy in Indonesia. Even though they no longer reside there, Data10 and her family remember that "the source of our wealth started in Indonesia and carrying the identity of Indonesia, thus in all our giving, Indonesia forms 50 percent of our total philanthropy."

In gratitude and compassion, Lien Ying Chow was moved toward altruism in divesting his wealth in his final years of his life by establishing the Lien Foundation. Data1 shared the following:

> Having received, Lien Ying Chow wanted to pass this on. His sense of giving back resulted in 48% of his wealth being given to establish the Lien Foundation. This is in gratitude for everything that has come his way; giving to feel that he has done his bit for society.
>
> For me personally, it is about giving back to what the Lord has given to me. Giving to ease my own conscience. Feeling I've been so fortunate and lucky, I want someone else to enjoy the same of what I have.

Data17 is bathing in gratefulness as a recipient and beneficiary of the generosity he received from his church and alma mater. He is so grateful for being a beneficiary of public generosity through a Nanyang Technological University (NTU) Bursary program, particularly because it came at the juncture when he was "thirstiest" — without a clue

what he would do if nothing came through. He appreciates these lucky moments and has translated his gratitude into giving back to the church (unsolicited) and endowing scholarships at his alma mater. He proudly smiled when he said, “Giving is growing as my personal prosperity grows.”

Access to Education

“Providing access to education is a must” was the deep belief of Tan Kah Kee,” Data6 emphasized. Tan Kah Kee’s aspiration was for the masses to gain access to education, even if he had to give away everything he had. In his time, he also did much to advocate the education of girls. For example, he walked to far-off villages and talked to the fathers of farm girls to reason with them (the fathers) and persuade them to allow their daughters to go to school. He even went to the extent of giving the fathers cash when they explained that allowing their daughters to go to school would jeopardize the family’s farm earnings. Although he sympathized with farm communities that depended on their daughters to meet their farming outputs, he was adamant about breaking this centuries-long cycle of using the daughters as free farm labor while sending their sons to school. His aspiration was for every human to be given the same chance (girl or boy) and to be treated the same when it came to education.

Tan Kah Kee’s went even further by making “borrowing to give” an aspiration in the name of education. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation was not so happy with Tan Kah Kee because he gave until he became bankrupt. The bank finally gave him an ultimatum that they would give him loans for business investments in rubber and pineapple plantations, but they would not provide loans if he planned to use the funds to donate to education and other societal needs. When it came time for Tan Kah Kee to choose between forgoing the company or forgoing philanthropy, he chose to forgo the

business during the slump in 1929, that is, he chose philanthropy over his business. He literally sold the business to do philanthropy! The values and perspectives behind this choice sprang from his belief that business was just a means to fund education, that is, the business gave him the money to do philanthropy. Data6 explained Tan Kah Kee's reasoning: "Business is something I can start again. But if I stop the education, there will be 1–2 generations of young people who will have no education." This skipping of education would be disastrous in the context of his grand vision for humanity (he had already seen that illiteracy in China was rampant and was damaging the country's ability to transform from feudalism to modernization). His enormous aspirations led him to say, "Everybody must have the opportunity to have access to school." He therefore founded the Jimei Schools and Xiamen University when he transferred his wealth from Singapore to Fujian, China, when he returned there in 1959.

Like Tan Kah Kee, Lee Kong Chian valued and had enormous aspirations for education. As a child, Data7 lived under the same roof with Lee Kong Chian and remembers that he had a huge library stuffed with a lot of books, as he was a lifelong learner versed in English, Chinese, and Jawi (Arabic alphabet for Malay, Indonesian). Though he barred girls from the family business (based on Confucian values), there were no barriers to education or to intellectual access and attainment for the women of the Lee family. All the girls had an education equal to that of boys, including private tutors and overseas education. Lee Kong Chian's wife, the eldest daughter of Tan Kah Kee, had a private tutor, and their daughters had a tertiary education. Data7 shared further about how education was revered and how its importance was made known to the next generation and how serious an aspiration it was for the family patriarch: "I was not a very

outstanding student — usually 6th in the class. When I came in 2nd once, I told him about it proudly, and he said, "2nd? Why not 1st?" That was a very important incident, and it showed how much he treasured and respected school and revered education. He did inspire us quite a bit. Because Lee Kong Chian emphasized bilingualism, he had his sons attend Chinese and English schools in the morning and afternoon, respectively.

Tan Kah Kee's aspiration, "borrowing to give" also rubbed off on Lee Kong Chian, who explained that the reason he went into business was to make money to give back to society, especially for education. According to Data7, this mindset was: "He was not making a big splash and did not see making money as prestigious. Rather it was how he gave it away that's important to him, especially for education. He was very simple in his taste; the sole reason to make money is to be able to give it away to society to do public good." Philanthropy was his motive for doing business and making money.

Being very grateful for the opportunity of a higher education that was supported by a university bursary and his church, Data18 aspires to provide that kind of relief to students and young people today who might be going through what he went through. He feels very privileged to have gained access to the high-quality education offered at the Nanyang Business School that led to opportunities for a lucrative career path. In line with his aspiration to send a strong message signaling the importance of a good education, Data18 not only donated two endowed scholarships to his alma mater, he has also gone out of his way to mentor and guide teenagers who come from broken homes. He identifies with what they are going through because of the financial vulnerability, hardship, and instability he experienced when he was growing up in a home where a gambling father brought home debts and no income. Data18 likes meeting up with his

scholarship recipients and uses these opportunities to pass his value of being a *Force for Good*.

Activism for Social Justice

In the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, extraordinary cohorts of unmarried, activist women left their native China in groups called the sisterhoods of the *Sor Hei*. Their fierce aspiration for social justice emancipated generations of women from 2,000 years of Confucian traditions that had kept them homebound as child bearers of sons for the family bloodline, as mothers, as caretakers, and as housekeepers with no economic status or recognized social value. The sisterhoods of the *Sor Hei*'s strong work ethic, integrity, and unflinching courage in the face of enormous odds (standing shoulder to shoulder with male counterparts who traveled to Southeast Asia for menial work) allowed these women to seize financial independence at a time when a woman working for a wage was still a social aberration.[58] Humble and illiterate, they broke new ground to be among the first Chinese women to send money back to China to support a multitude of projects and daily needs of their families, clans, villages, catastrophes, and even war relief efforts. Their philanthropic action put them among the first female diasporic Chinese to show future generations of women the intrinsic value of women, the gift of choice, and the humanitarian possibilities of financial and economic independence, in the face of 2,000 years of economic and domestic subjugation.[59]

When China was menaced by a foreign power, Tan Kah Kee moved to action at the national level, even though he was in the Nanyang (Singapore). Anti-Japanese anger

[58] Yu Lin Ooi, "The Emergence of Chinese Women Philanthropists in Singapore: The Sisterhoods of the Sor Hei," Working Paper (Singapore: ACSEP, National University of Singapore, October 31, 2018), 2. https://bschool.nus.edu.sg/images/ACSEP/Research-Papers/2018/AP-The-Sisterhoods-of-the-Sor-Hei.pdf.
[59] Yu Lin Ooi, "The Emergence of Chinese Women Philanthropists in Singapore," 12.

sparked a communitywide fundraising campaign led by Tan Kah Kee. The Shandong Relief campaign boycotted Japanese goods, and the Jinan Relief Fund raised funds through the clan organizations, affinity-group lodges, schools, women's groups, trade associations, Hokkien community leaders, dialect-group support, and more. It was a broad social activism net cast far and wide among the Chinese in the Nanyang.[60]

Tan Kah Kee was also an early supporter of Sun Yat Sen, having joined his Republican Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmenghui) before 1911, including supporting Sun Yat Sen financially. Tan Kah Kee's most ambitious political fundraising effort involved bringing together a diverse group of Chinese organizations, from across the Nanyang, for the common purpose of political activism. The outcome was a broad-scale participation of diasporic Chinese and ethnic Chinese across several countries to support the Singapore China Relief Fund in 1937.[61]

Just like his father-in-law Tan Kah Kee, Lee Kong Chian showed unwavering support for education with determination and optimism despite challenging political circumstances. In China, he met with the difficult internal cultural and political environments of the times, he continued to implement educational improvements and facilities, in line with the modernization of China. Lee Kong Chian also was involved in the Tongmenghui revolutionary movement: In 1937, he purchased the Sun Yat-Sen Villa (together with five other Singapore Chinese merchants); with a gift of SDG7.5 million from the Lee Foundation, the premises were renovated it into a cultural shrine in 2001. He is also lauded for his anti-Japanese activities and for cajoling the retired Tan Kah Kee

[60] Kuhn, *Chinese among Others: Emigration in Modern Times*, 273–74.
[61] Kuhn, 273–74.

to step forward to take up a leadership role.[62] Lee Kong Chian was quick to regroup after setbacks and barriers in the political environment that obstructed his plans for education, for example, even the disruption of the Cultural Revolution did not stop him. The Lee Foundation continued to support Xiamen University, which Tan Kah Kee had established. In Singapore, he continued to argue for the maintenance of ethnic education and culture against the onslaught of Anglicization and provided financial and moral support to Chinese Schools, Chinese newspapers and media, and the local Chinese Chamber of Commerce.[63]

We have seen how Tan Kah Kee's streak in social activism rubbed off on Lee Kong Chian, and there is reason to believe that it might also have rubbed off on Tan Chin Tuan, as shared by Data9: "Chiming in whenever he felt there were things that were unfair, unjust, discriminatory — he would step forward to do something about it. Doing the right thing was in his blood." In the context of the British colonial time, G1 diasporic Chinese had to stand up for themselves and eventually for self-government. Tan Chin Tuan stepped forward as a legislative counselor to provide social and community leadership from the ground. When Tan Chin Tuan was in Bombay, all citizens of Chinese ethnicity in the Straits Settlement of Singapore had to register with the British Indian authorities as aliens. He took offense to that, as Data9 shared: "Hey look, I am the King's and Queen's subject born in a colony. . .. Just because I am a Chinese does not make me a foreign alien or possibly a spy." Data9 related another incident when Tan Chin Tuan took it upon himself to innovate philanthropy post–World War II. To help individuals restart their lives and hence restart the Singapore economy, he seized the moment and

[62] Huang, 84.
[63] Huang, 84–94.

invested in philanthropy in a way that would also inject money into the economy, by giving micro loans to individuals, including the white POWs who were then able to turn around and successfully rebuild their lives.

Data16 was finishing medical school with residency in a New York hospital. Her own conscience kicked her into gear for social justice and activism:

> My training was a medical intern in NY where I was dealing with burnt babies in the hospital; these burnt babies kept coming in because landlords would set fire (arson) to their run-down old apartments and then collect insurance on it but the poor tenants were the victims, esp. their babies. I had to carefully peel away and change the bandage of these babies. It was non-stop of such babies coming into the hospital and I was compelled to stop this at the source.
>
> I had to do something about it!! So, I kicked into activism: we went to retrieve records of these premises and went to see the mayors . . . see the politicians . . . see the landlords. It was just wrong! Is this a human value when some act upon injustice? It was a confluence of my mother's values and action that I witnessed + my own compassion + family values, that pushed me to fly into advocacy and philanthropic action for these voiceless babies of poor and needy tenants being bullied and made use of.

Having a sense of social leadership is to do the right thing at the right time for public good. Data18 had an active student life and was a student leader while at the university: "Having benefited from scholarships and bursaries myself during my school years, I know first-hand how important such help is for those who do not have the financial means to pursue their educational dreams." He subsequently worked with the university to launch a student's fund in 1995, in response to a tuition fee hike. He even got then-Minister of Education Lee Yock Suan to secure dollar-to-dollar matching to raise a few hundred thousand dollars for needy students.

It was similar for Data20, who noted, "Improving our happiness through the physical world is of the past; we should now look to exploring inward. . .. it is time to

focus on humans' emotional well-being for mankind after centuries of effort to increase living standards." In terms of activism, Data20 is setting aside US$1 billion for this effort to advocate and support mind, brain, and neuroscience research, and he sends this joyous message in his transition from entrepreneur to philanthropist:

> The biggest difference in philanthropy: there's no competition. If others want to put in lots of money into brain science, it benefits my research too as it contributes to collective intelligence. This is the beauty of philanthropy. How can I help the whole humanity? Brain research is where I see I can help the whole humanity, and I have a personal interest in it.

Summary of Findings

Among diasporic Chinese and ethnic Chinese in the Nanyang, G1 diasporic Chinese represent the most homogeneous group. As a group, they adhered to a recognizable pattern of values, worldview, and traditions because each of them experienced a very similar life phase. They fled an internally turbulent China in the late 1800s to early 1900s, when the convergence of historical, political, social, and economic factors brought on a phenomenon that forced millions of Chinese to emigrate south to the Nanyang. With utter homogeneity, the G1 generation went to the Nanyang with a sojourner mentality and continued to muster loyalty and maintain an identity tied to China, with a mandate to return to China to retire and die in their motherland. Their worldview was based on Confucianism, from which their value system was derived.

At first, G1 drew together for self-help and mutual aid among their own clans and dialect groups and to take philanthropic action to benefit motherland China. The handful who became successful lived with a societal expectation or social norm that required them to be leaders and advocates for their Chinese communities' interactions with the

colonial masters. This handful of leaders was also expected to provide the philanthropic base that would support a volunteer platform to facilitate and help resettle many more millions of Chinese migrants who continued to pour into Southeast Asia.

However, by the mid-1900s, G1 diasporic Chinese found themselves caught in the political closed-door policy of China. At that point, many of those living outside China were forced to relinquish their sojourner mentality and settle as nationals, marrying women in the local communities and having children born locally as nationals. Born and raised as nationals in the new lands where they settled in Southeast Asia, G2 ethnic Chinese were more readily assimilated into the local cultures than their parents were. This is the juncture in history when the Chinese diaspora culture evolves into a continuum of Chineseness, setting forth variations of philanthropic action from the original seeds brought along by the G1. Over time, the G1 diasporic Chinese value system has mutated and evolved, and from these changes, we can begin to see a continuum of Chineseness. While still Confucian-centric, G2 value systems are being infused with varying doses of religiosity, Western lifestyles or ethos of local norms, traditions or ethics. These factors birthed new identities, for example, the Peranakans (or Straits Chinese).

These evolving identities and values naturally affected how the follow-on generations of G3, and G4 conducted their philanthropic actions. Although they still clung to vestiges of Chinese and Confucian culture and traditions, their values were no longer like G1 values. G2 and G3, who were born and raised where their parents (G1) settled as nationals, had different worldviews and life experiences that did not include up-close-and-personal experiences with China. To them, being ethnic Chinese in their local

communities meant their loyalties were cultivated with local people. As a result, it was very natural for them to give to benefit the local communities where they grew up and lived. It naturally followed that they would place less importance on China than their parents did.

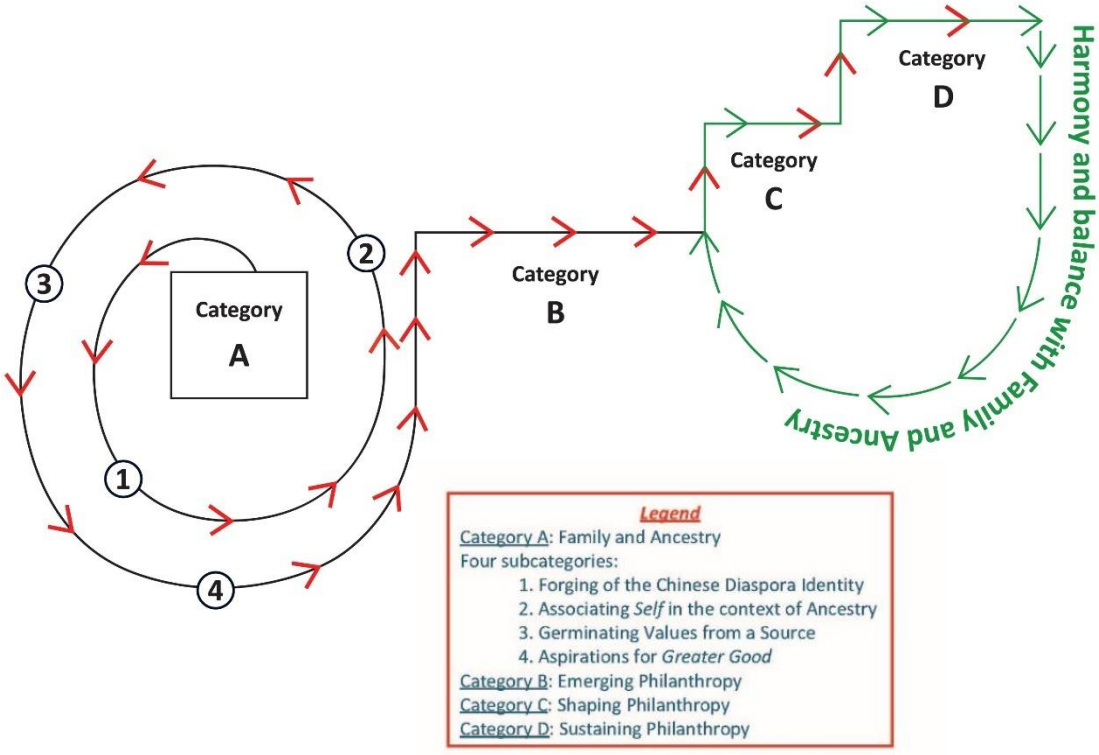
The continuum of Chineseness continues to expand as the G1 diasporic Chinese generation passes away and family wealth transfers to G2, to G3, to G4. In the next chapter, we see how the emerging philanthropy moved from a focus on self-help and mutual aid to giving for the public good, while retaining the core attributes of a Confucian-centric ethos.

CHAPTER FOUR:
GETTING INTO PHILANTHROPY

Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, you see that the general trend, as discerned from this current study, is a stepladder-type endeavor in philanthropic action that is constantly reshaped to achieve sustainability in balanced harmony with ancestors and family. The theoretical framework from this study is introduced here as Figure 1.

Figure 1: Theoretical Framework



All of Chapter Three, “Family and Ancestry” that you have just read about, is category A in the theoretical framework presented above, representing the genesis of the Chinese diaspora identity in the Nanyang. The process inside category A took a long time to “simmer and brew” to forge the values, morals, motivations, and value systems — born from the will to survive and thrive against all odds for the honor of familial and ancestral

identities — laying the foundation for philanthropic action (categories B, C, and D) of the diasporic Chinese and the ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia to blossom and thrive.

Emerging Philanthropy, Category B in the theoretical framework: diasporic Chinese (G1) were compelled into philanthropic action for the self- preservation of their own kind, which resulted in volunteering, self-help, mutual aid, social activism, giving locally, and philanthropic remittances to China.

Shaping Philanthropy, Category C in the theoretical framework: we see philanthropy starting to pass from G1 to G2: for ethnic Chinese who were born locally we see a loosening up to give outside their families, clans, and kinship ties. External forces and social norms of the times also begin to shape their giving as they ascend the stepladder moving from the left toward the right side of the theoretical framework.

Sustaining Philanthropy, Category D in the theoretical framework: these later generations of G3, G4, and G5 are clearly giving outside familial lines. In giving to the public good, they begin to see the need to be involved in activism, working across sectors and geographic regions to collaborate in order to solve massive societal problems at their root. Very quickly they also see the need to influence others to give as projects become of greater scale and complexity.

Looking beyond their own mortality, ethnic Chinese are soon concerned with how to sustain their philanthropic work beyond their lifetimes. At the same time, younger ethnic Chinese generations are still mindful of keeping Confucian balance and harmony of their family and ancestry through philanthropy. And so, future generations of G3, G4, and G5 ethnic Chinese continue to massage and refine the institutionalized platforms of giving – referenced by green arrows in the theoretical framework. In perpetuity, ethnic

Chinese are constantly calibrating balance and harmony for family and ancestry, moving cyclically between categories C (reshaping) and D (sustaining).

Emerging Philanthropy

When the G1 diasporic Chinese arrived in the new lands in Southeast Asia, they had to work very hard in labor-intensive and menial jobs to make a living and survive. As sojourners, they saw their migrant status as temporary and continued to have great hopes of returning to the motherland to retire and die. However, on October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) from Beijing's Tiananmen Square. A new political and economic system modeled after the Soviet Union was installed. The government overhauled the land ownership system and carried out extensive land reforms. The old landlord-ownership system of farmland was replaced with a more egalitarian system in favor of poor peasants.[1] "Class struggle" and the study of communist doctrine became the order of the day. Beginning in 1953, a series of campaigns were launched to suppress former landlords and capitalists, the country was closed (going in or out), and foreign investment became literally unheard of.[2]

From outside China, the diasporic Chinese heard about the economic and humanity failures of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. Those who were due to return to China between 1949 and 1978 found themselves having to accept the reality that China, moving into a socialist and Marxist planned economy under communist rule, might not be an ideal place for the pursuit of their entrepreneurial dreams. With little protection and hope for returning to their motherland, they huddled together for survival in mutual aid through clan networks based on dialect, family names,

[1] ChineseOnTheGo.com, *China Today*.
[2] "ChChineseOnTheGo.com, *China Today*.

and ethnicity. Such was the early philanthropic action by the diasporic Chinese in Southeast Asia.

Driven by their instinctive drive for the survival of their ancestral lineage and family name, diasporic Chinese and their descendants quickly found their voice in philanthropy. While the wealthy G1 funded community infrastructure, programs/projects for the entire village, or ancestral temples and shrines in China, most of the diasporic G1 Chinese were drawn into acts of volunteerism and charity for family, relatives, and people of the same dialect or clan. Most G1 philanthropic action tended to be informal in nature, centering on self-help to family first (in the form of remittances), then on mutual aid to clansmen, then on aid to their ethnic community (community giving circles).[3] Data14 put it quite succinctly:

> My father eked out a living as a migrant in survival mode all his life. When he had some spare cash, being charitable was in the form of mutual aid remittances back to relatives in China, or sponsoring family and relatives in China for their passage to give them access to a new life. This was all driven by the motivation to help "one of your own" in the family.

Similarly, Data12 recalled of his parents who were G1 diasporic Chinese:

> My parents came from China during early 1940s. By that time, most of the Clans had mutual aid, self-help programs at temples or Clan associations. They provided housing in "Coolie Keng" and introduced jobs to their clansmen. They come here to find jobs — for survival. I think this had influenced the early philanthropic work of my parents' generation. During the 50s and 60s, the Clans shifted their focus towards education: a lot of schools were set up and health/clinics set up to assist/provide for the needs of their own people — mutual aid. Their [G1] circumstances were different — and perhaps that forced them to act and be generous or else perish. Of course, this type of thing not everyone will do. Usually some leaders come forward to give and bring along others in their same circles to join in to help and from there it starts to spread.

[3] Menkhoff, 65.

It should be noted that diaspora remittances were recognized reciprocally as philanthropy, as they provided for the needs not only for one's immediate family, but also supported unknown distant relatives, their spouses, their children, and even to procure essential infrastructure for the village.[4]

Molded by Circumstances of the Times

Data9 believes that Tan Chin Tuan may have been influenced by being around his own father who was a trustee of the Tan Clan:

> Chinese diaspora in early 1900s — came to Southeast Asia by themselves with no families; their first port of call tended to be the clan temples, or the clan foundations. Tan Chin Tuan would have watched his father help kinsmen who have come to Singapore . . . coming off the boats, they need food, lodging, jobs, and more. His work through the Tan clan and the Tan temple was quite humanitarian by nature . . . the type of philanthropy based on urgent need. Witnessing these philanthropic actions and mentally recording it, Tan Chin Tuan later grew his own philanthropy through grant making and giving to associations.

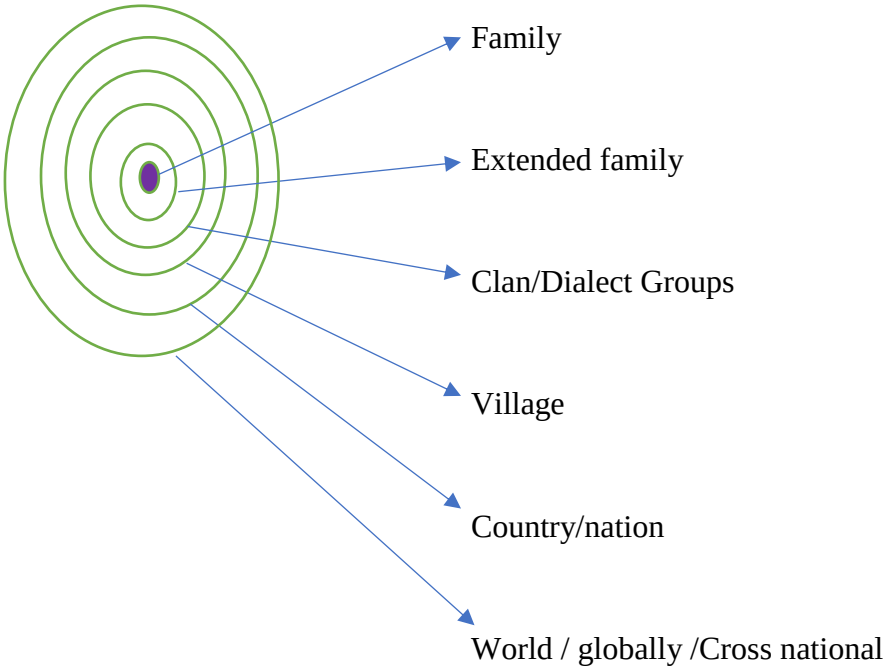
Emerging philanthropy for Data10's parents began when they first started a factory in Indonesia in 1981. Their first foray in giving was to build a school around the factory to benefit and invest in education for the communities around their business. Data12's personal philanthropy as a G2 started with lots of ad hoc giving, but he has certainly also mimicked his parents by giving through the clans and slowly expanding outside his world and today gives to all Singaporeans as long as they fall within his focused areas of giving.

Data2 summarizes this behavior as being an informal social norm that manifests as an expectation to help those within the immediate and extended family (ancestry-

[4] Yu Lin Ooi, "The Emergence of Chinese Women Philanthropists in Singapore," 10.

centric), then extending out to the clan or the same dialect group, and then extending across other Chinese dialect groups.

Figure 2: The Communal Spirit of Asian Philanthropy



As shown in Figure 2 above, Data2 shares that this represents, "The communal spirit is the core of this Asian philanthropy, i.e. giving to people who were like you — an accepted practice in self-help, mutual aid, and welfare-aid (in the context of the times)."

In his memoirs, Data13 also mentioned a circumstance where philanthropy was associated with business in Indonesia, which led him to think about wrapping philanthropy into the Lippo Cikarang Industrial Park:

> To make the park even more convenient for the business community, we donated land to the government so that it could relocate its district administrative offices there. We also built a residential complex with an international school on the site — the school was better than most national primary and middle schools — and provided a hospital, hotel, club, modern shopping plaza, waterworks, and water treatment plant."[5]

[5] Riady, 210–11.

Data9 confirms the differences in the context of the times:

> In the case of my grandfather, Tan Chin Tuan, I suspect there may have been some of that influence of social norms because he was a businessman, a leader of society (legislative council) and like a "balanced portfolio" approach — you are a businessman, you should be doing some good deeds. To me, it is an Anglo-Saxon model: the learned gentleman must do everything, must be cultured, well-traveled, and eat well.

In the early 1900s when Singapore was a British colony, the colonial government deliberately encouraged successful men of all races to give generously and publicly to help build Singapore's infrastructure, rewarding them with power in society and tacit leadership in the community (a position they might otherwise not have gained, since in Asian cultures, leadership traditionally defaulted to the most senior person in the group, not the most dynamic person).[6] On behalf of her wealthy husband who was highly recognized by the British government (but passed away early), Mrs. Lee Choon Guan became one of the early female philanthropists. She was filled with philanthropic blood, but how she manifested it as a spouse and a woman in the early 1900s in British colonial Singapore was quite fascinating, as described by Data4:[7]

- Mrs. Lee was the first president of the Chinese Ladies' Association, and medical missions for Chinese women and children were a special interest of hers, where she encouraged women to train as midwives for the benefit of the poor.

- She helped Mrs. Song Ong Siang and other women raise funds "by subscription" to buy the fighter plane, "Women of Malaya No. 27," which cost the vast sum of $6,000.

- In September 1916, she raised funds in public by selling things (she had a tea stall), introducing the charity bazaar model, to help the work

[6] Yu Lin Ooi, "The Emergence of Chinese Women Philanthropists in Singapore," 9.
[7] Yu Lin Ooi, "Philanthropy in Transition: An Exploratory Study of Asian Women and Philanthropy in Singapore, 1900–1945," Philanthropy in Asia: Working Paper No. 2 (ACSEP & AVPN, Singapore: National University of Singapore, ACSEP, 2016), 71–75, https://bschool.nus.edu.sg/Portals/0/images/ACSEP/Publications/P-WP2.pdf.

of the Red Cross and St John's Ambulance. *The Straits Times* reported, "This was the first time that Chinese ladies have come forward to assist in a public charity ("Our Day," 1916, 10).

- Giving Circles: Together with spouses of wealthy husbands they would siphon money from their household budget to combine their funds for charitable projects.

For the sisterhoods of the *Sor Hei,* their unprecedented financial and economic independence made it possible for them to send money back to Chinese villages to build houses for themselves and others, repair wells and roads, pay for weddings, fund schools, and buy farmland and stock. They even donated their own jewelry to unseen babies of distant relatives. In their communities in Singapore, they volunteered and gave donations to temples and clan halls, built sisterhood retirement houses (or "*Ku Por Uk*"), and contributed to a pooled retirement fund for everyone to use in their old age.[8]

Shaping Philanthropy

During post–World War II, a convergence of compelling factors made it favorable for diasporic Chinese to step into philanthropy for local communities, that is, to move outside their comfort zone of mutual aid and self-help philanthropy into charity for the public good. In the chaos and aftermath of the war, there was a strong desire and need to rebuild the infrastructure and return to a normal life. Also, after witnessing the British colonial leadership's humiliating surrender to the Japanese followed by four years of agonizing Japanese occupation, a keen sense of nationalism was seething among the general populace. The British colonial masters had failed in their promise to protect the local populace, and this led them to question the efficacy of the "leadership and protection" offered by the British Empire, and the result was that the locals began to have

[8] Yu Lin Ooi, "The Emergence of Chinese Women Philanthropists in Singapore," 11.

political aspirations of self-government. They now had a fiery desire for independent nationhood. In this context, a probable Chinese-centric social norm expected those who did well (the wealthy families and successful businesses) to come forward as community leaders in charity and philanthropy. With the loss of confidence in British colonialists, there was a political void left to be filled. Diasporic Chinese business leaders filled this void, and with it also their philanthropy.

Family Values Institutionalized

As GI aged, they came to realize that their philanthropic work and aspirations could not be completed during their lifetimes. They recognized that their philanthropic journey was only the tip of the iceberg in the context of the family's lineage and ancestry. They were also beginning to think in terms of solutions to eradicate tough, deep-seated societal problems. Hence, they explored options to set up platforms that would continue their good work past their lifetimes, and perhaps in perpetuity.

While the early philanthropic actions of G1 or G2 were fueled by the realities of their times, realities that stoked their personal morals, values, and virtues, G3 and G4 now find that they must consciously work at fostering and cultivating philanthropic values among their family members. In order to render these values into ethical standards that their families will embrace and cultural traditions that will last in perpetuity, later generations had to find ways to institutionalize such a value system and thereby make it part of their families' culture and establish a vision of harmony and balance for their ongoing ancestral journey.

To this end, Data10 shared how her family's strategy also takes into consideration what's happening in the environment where they operate:

> In 2000, our philanthropy was more institutionalized and not around the business anymore. We study data to try to understand what the needs of society are; but giving is a very personal thing — it still needs to be something we care about for it to be effective. Although our philanthropy emerged in Indonesia, the family in G3 and G4 have migrated to live in Singapore and we are investing much time and effort with professional help to set up an enduring and effective platform that would guide, motivate, and inspire G3 to evolve this platform into a modern Foundation. We also intend for the Foundation and our philanthropy to be the "glue" that holds the family together . . . and it is collective philanthropy that includes everybody's voices, empowering the process of giving.

Data10 continued,

> Our role model is my grandparents who were poor and frugal — never wasting anything. My grandma ate congee every day. They are very diligent people working 24/7. My grandma was helping in the shop though not educated; she would have her own coding system in the Singapore Port Shop — so she was a very clever person despite not having the education. The latter passed on to my dad who also helped in the port shop and built the business. Their work ethic was very strong: work, work, work! In my generation, we also work hard but there's recognizing we must create time for the family; we put in much time and effort to be on the same page for our collective identity. More and more, we are also adopting "western" philanthropy techniques in philanthropy. Therefore, consciously fostering the family's value system is critical to keeping the intent, purpose, aspirational vision clearly directed so that their philanthropic action continues to steer in the direction as intended from generation to generation.

As value systems deepen over time, family values seem to take on a life of their own as family traditions. The latter become the basis for ancestral allegiance. These values are fostered in daily life, business, and philanthropy, giving rise to a "Warm Glow or Joy" in ancestral actualization (as opposed to self-actualization, as is common for Western values).

Fostering Value Systems

Being placed in an environment where philanthropy is encouraged or enforced by social norms, unknowingly mimicking the philanthropic behavior of someone at home, or a compelling circumstance crossing their path were ways interviewees described how their philanthropy emerged. Data3 attributed it to their mother as the person whose footsteps they strive to follow. "She would choose to give to the financially needy through local charities in Singapore, e.g. the Kidney Foundation, Singapore Buddhist Free Clinic and Thong Chai Medical Institution." So today they continue to give to same institutions, in addition to endowing scholarships in their parents' names.

Data1 observed that value systems in philanthropy are not fostered only by the wealthy:

> I have friends who are not so wealthy. But they are so generous. This friend of mine is alright comfortable . . . last Sunday, the Assisi was raising funds. . .. Asking for $10, few dollars, nothing much. But she'll take out $100 and put it there. I feel so very proud of her. Look at this woman, in my mind, she gave the most. As the Bible says, "she only gave one mite/coin — it was all she had." Look at these pharaohs, they are giving, but giving only what is extra, but this woman is giving all she has.

Data15 noted how her family fostered its value system:

> We frequented the Clan Association with our parents: for us it was the "Tan An" Huay Kwan as we are Teochews. A place for the needy to get help; and, a place for us to get together to return the blessings. Therefore, we as their children we give to remember their legacy and continue their good work. It is our hope the future generation and their children will do the same as a chain reaction. We do not have any formalized foundation or program to teach the younger generation — we hope they will learn by seeing us do it and learn by our actions; just as we learnt from seeing our parents doing good deeds in action.

Data14, despite having a secular mindset, also pointed to a value system: "My word is it. . .. This company bears my name, we cannot foul it up, or else I will shut it down. If I feel I want to do something I do it; I am a good citizen, but I do what I feel I need to do."

Data12 observed that the values are different in today's younger generation but that this does not mean they are doing worse or that the older generation failed to foster their value system: "I think it is because the priority of the younger generation is a different priority. The older generation of G1 time is passionate and they feel great responsibility in the context of their times. I would hope that the students who take up our community program courses can spread it to other people."

Data7 also shared how her grandfather fostered the family's value system:

> He felt that being born into money is a responsibility you have been given to steward; it might be a handicap. We never expected to live off the family's inheritance. I remember worrying about what I would do for a living. Well, first we never knew how much wealth the family had or did not have. We didn't experience poverty, but we never had the assurance that we could tap into the family's wealth. He was very simple in his taste; we would eat the same things again and again and we eat the same . . . oats, rice, simple healthy foods. We never waste a rice grain — he gets really annoyed. The other thing I remembered is his turning off all the lights; making us all turn off the lights. He didn't like lights left on unnecessarily. For example, my room at night was very far from the stairs. When we go for dinner — fearing the dark, so I left a room light on (so that I was able to get back to a dark room). But before sitting down for dinner, he would go around the house to check [that] the lights were off! And he would chide me for leaving the light on in my room — this is Lee Kong Chian. Everything we learn of his values was by example. His value system was etched in his life.

Lee Kong Chian's generosity was not confined to monetary terms; he contributed physically by donating blood, including on his seventieth birthday when he deliberately avoided any grand birthday celebrations at home and went instead to the Singapore

General Hospital to donate blood. He concentrated on others' needs rather than his own so much that when he went back to China in 1965 due to illness, a panel of traditional Chinese-trained doctors and Western-trained physicians diagnosed him as being shockingly "malnourished," and he had to be placed immediately under a medical and diet regimen to increase his body weight.[9]

In addition to bringing his children ages 10, 14, and 17 to meet with the recipients of the endowed scholarships that he supports, Data18 also wants to: (1) Be their role model for giving back to society, (2) Inspire them not to think just about themselves as it is easy for the younger generation today to be self-centered, and (3) Encourage them to contribute toward the endowment funds that he has set up, even after he and his wife are no longer around.

When Data19's father was close to his death, he called his sons to let them know of his leaving each of them a sum of money. Data19 explained their reaction:

> We thanked him but said that we did not need it. He had given us a good academic education and even more importantly, a strong moral education at home by words and deeds. We all shared the view, so together with our mother, we made the decision to give all his wealth away over time, starting with a gift of US$350 million to Harvard to name the TH Chan School of Public Health.

Giving Platforms Being Shaped by Institutionalized Value Systems

More and more frequently, G2s and G3s are employing Western techniques in philanthropy. Most commonly explored is the concept of investing in solutions and programs that target root problems. Data10's family foundation carved out three countries to focus on and targeted specific root problems in those countries: (1)

[9] Huang, 80.

Indonesia, where they built their wealth, (2) Singapore, where they are currently based, and (3) China, where they have significant business and from which their ancestral origins arose. In Indonesia, their generosity provides access to education and helps groom leaders to nurture a more comprehensive educational ecosystem that can eventually impact the whole Human Capital Resource (HCR) pipeline in education; alleviates poverty by catalyzing livelihood development projects; and enhances health. In Singapore, their giving helps to support medical research on Asian diseases. In China, much as they do in Indonesia, they choose specific cities in which to target the whole HCR in education.

To operationalize the ethos of five family values in philanthropic programs, they require scholarship recipients to think about and develop a sense of "paying it forward." The purpose of targeting education is to ensure equality in access to education and economic opportunities and to help everyone in Indonesia realize their full potential. The purpose of targeting educational leadership development for civil servants and in the educational ecosystem in Indonesia and China is to ensure a pipeline of people equipped with the knowledge, skills, and commitment needed to govern the country. Data10 and her family meet at times to make giving decisions that deviate from the focused areas just mentioned. For example, in order to give attention to and address a special, though temporary, request from the community and the strong scientific evidence showing that stunting in Indonesia was overly prevalent, the family gave outside their philanthropic strategic areas.

Data8 recently established a formal foundation after decades of philanthropy in supporting "victims who have no voice, bullied by the system, falling through the cracks,

reaching out to the needy and the poor in Singapore and the region." What may have looked like random acts of charity are now consolidated and shaped into a strategic portfolio of giving that (1) cares for those who cared for us, (2) empowers through education for underprivileged children and children with special needs, and (3) gives with a heart based on the words of Mother Teresa: "It's not how much we give but how much love we put into giving." Data8 is pleased that it is now easier for her to say "no" to other requests because she can focus on her three defined strategic priorities and their impact.

Data12 gave reactively for quite a long time too, before deciding to funnel his philanthropic giving through two organizations: the Ho Bee Foundation (his company's corporate foundation) and the Chua Foundation (a family foundation named in memory of his mother), with each entity having a unique, strategic philanthropic purpose, as he explained:

> The Chua Foundation . . . is for the passing of philanthropic legacy, the 3rd Generation should manage that foundation; we want them to work together as a family in their generation. They have their own way of thinking — should let them have some responsibility. Not only just my 4 kids are involved, my nephews and nieces are also involved. A leader naturally emerges. When my parents passed the legacy, it was just by us observing, but now with the Chua Foundation formalized, I have taken an important step that the future generations would also be doing it since the infrastructure is there.

Even for individuals who write personal checks for donations without the platform of a formalized organization, they individuals also have a systemic process that is somewhat regularized (though not institutionalized). Data1 explained:

> I am sometimes afraid, when money is not properly spent and goes into somebody's pocket. I think that is perhaps a universal fear of donors. So, what I usually do is: if it is a big sum, I will commit the total, but I will not give it out in one lump sum. I would give it over 2 years, or 3 years. I would like accountability, and I would like a report, whether you are up to

> mark. And if you are up to mark, and things appear good, then the 2nd installment comes. And when the 2nd installment comes, it would usually be spilt into 2 tranches or sometimes 4 tranches, something like that; that's what I have been doing for the bigger sums. But if it is like $10,000 or $20,000, I just usually give . . . I usually give only because people I know — ask.
>
> For people I don't know . . . if they ask, I usually hesitate, you know. And also, now over the years, I make certain donations that are annual: I know it is safe and will be put to good use. . .. When it is a new project, e.g. the Margaret Lien Center, it is spread out a number of years, and I ask for a report every year; and so far it has been good, been up to mark, and the reports have been good, so the funding continues. This is more my style of giving.

As we can see, individuals do exercise due diligence when they make donations, but they do so in varied ways, and the rules they follow are not entirely set in stone but are shaped by how they experience stewardship of their funds. Data11 puts it differently, showing that individual giving is still often done with some degree of emotion and with opportunities for empathy and compassion:

> I once had a supervisor who was very caring and full of love during one of my first jobs after I left school. She helped me a lot in my early career, on what to do/learn, and gave me good opportunities to grow from. We girls were so cared for by her. One day, I got a phone call from her son: this supervisor had become very ill and lived in a 2 bedroom [apartment]. Her son wanted to rent out one room to generate some revenue, but I told him he should not because his mom deserved better.
>
> So, I gave him $800 per month but he felt it was too much and only took $500 per month; I later just GIRO (electronical transfer) that into their account monthly — it's my way of saying thank you to my supervisor, my gratitude to her and on seeing her in trouble and ill, I really wanted to help her. 5 years passed, and one day her son called me up to say I should "halt" the GIRO because he and his mom now qualified for the government's pioneer generation aid. I had totally forgotten that I had signed them up for $500 per month for GIRO! As I halted the GIRO, I told her son that if for any reason they needed help, he should contact me again.

Although philanthropic workshops and consultants stress the need to be strategic, focused, and outcome-centric, Data9 believes that, no matter how strategic you are in your planning or vision, opportunities for donors to empathize and have some degree of compassion are still needed, because these are social issues. He explained,

> I think if you are doing philanthropy, you must have a sense of empathy for everybody. I don't believe in Corporate Giving where you just choose from this whole list of charities . . . just choose based on quantitative impact. Take for example, this poor single mother: you give her a lot more and may still not be able to solve her problem. Empathy is greater for her than them. At the same time, what I can do in terms of empathy pushes me to her; whereas this other one is . . . let me see how much I can do and how much the funds can last. My empathy would be greater for her than them because I have a sense of connection to her because I have heard her story. It brings out my compassion.

Data9 continued,

> My father's Chew family side was quite different because he (my dad) came from East Malaysia as a student — relatively poor student. He struggled. So, his drivers for philanthropy were out of his own experience as a poor medical student. Some of his grant making was driven by social pressure, e.g. my friend is doing this golf game, can you please go and support. To me the quantum indicates the amount of empathy he has towards the supported project. So, for these golf game type giving, there is pressure from social norms — the giving is a token amount. But then he set up a scholarship at NUS for Malaysian medical students. To me, that's a direct translation of what he had experienced as a medical student — he could feel what he went through.

Data9 sees the necessity to converge top-down and bottom-up philanthropy, believing that it is very much about using both the head (strategic) and the heart (compassion): "Both have to come together in a very holistic and very top-down & bottoms-up approach where they converge and meet at some point." In many studies and anecdotal responses, even the most veteran philanthropists have shared how necessary it is to always keep your heart where your head is — they feed on one another.

What Data9 just verbalized is shared by US philanthropists Bill and Melinda Gates who learned how to deal with the emotions they continue to feel when they are on the ground with constituents in Africa. For example, they realize that the philanthropic impulse was what put them on the "good path" initially, but they also needed additional skills to be successful in drilling down to the fundamentals to eradicate root causes. They began to strike a balance between the head and the heart, using the head to find solutions to the root causes of the issues, but allowing the heart to feel the compassion that pulled them through the arduous and challenging process to make solutions work on the ground. Melinda Gates noted the following:

> My God, we have to not just save that child, but 600,000 children…And so you let your heart break… for me it is a hard tug that I feel, that I carry every time when I come back home…But then it is your intellectual head, that you have to put on when you are back home….Your intellectual head says: How do I use this money that's at our disposal to have the biggest of impact?[10]

Data5 is inspired by the philanthropic action of his ancestor aunt, Mrs. Lee Choon Guan, even after 100 years past:

> In that light and spirit, and as executor of the Mrs. Lee Choon Guan trust, I must steward her values — education being one of her core values — hence I support ACSEP at NUS Business School with her trust. In fact, I have commissioned for a research project to help bring to light her and other women's philanthropic action of those times. As an Anglican, I am myself very involved with church work, serving on various boards and as a church elder, I take care of much of our church's programs in the community.

[10] Steve Forbes, *Why Give It All? Bill & Melinda Gates, Warren Buffett and the Greatest Rountable of All Time*, Forbes 400 Annual Summit in Philanthropy 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JTvKVoonH8c (accessed August 5, 2018).

Data5 commissioned Data4's research to expound on his ancestor, Mrs. Lee Choo Guan and other women's philanthropic actions during the early 1900s. The research shows that even as early as the early 1900s, Mrs. Lee was already participating with other women, in what we would call giving circles today. Data4 added, "Over the decades, Mrs. Lee Choon Guan gave generously and institutionalized her giving in organizations that would grow her philanthropic aspirations. These included:[11]

- Red Cross
- King Albert's Civilian Hospital Fund
- Children's Aid Society
- YWCA Building Fund
- Child Welfare Association
- Building of St Andrew's Hospital
- Women's Christian Temperance Union
- The Halifax Relief Fund (a successful fundraiser where Mrs. Lee's "well-known tea stall" had become a fixture)
- Chinese Ladies' Association, which continued to run its own fundraisers under the auspices of the Straits Chinese British Association
- Involvement in the workings of the Women and Children's Protection Ordinance, and oversight of maternity care at Kandang Kerbau Hospital and Singapore General Hospital
- Hosting many creative entertainments (for example, "Bohemian Night" ball and the "Terror Ball," where thousands of dollars were collected for her favorite causes)
- Following in her father's footsteps by taking an active interest in the *Po Leung Kuk*. She not only funded its activities but also invited girls from the home to

[11] Ooi, "Philanthropy in Transition: An Exploratory Study of Asian Women and Philanthropy in Singapore, 1900–1945," 71–75.

visit Mandalay Villa, her beautiful seaside home (these "At Homes" were very successful and funds were raised while patrons played bridge or mahjong and the children enjoyed treats on the beach).

- Caring for Singapore's needy (social welfare in civil society was a nascent idea during those times)

Sustaining Philanthropy

Maturing as philanthropists, donors begin to get a more "helicopter view" of how their own giving and see how their good work fits into the larger context – understanding that their giving is but one piece of a larger jigsaw puzzle, but a very vital piece that completes the full picture to bring about solutions and social change.

Interviewees recognize the value of activism, influencing, collaborating, and managing the multilayers of intervention needed to solve problems at root. They see the complexity that the network of players faces in delivering even one solution for a tough social problem that has been "kicked down the road for generations."

They know that political influence is needed to spur government policy and do the following: set up quality NGOs or agencies to deliver and implement government policies; help local communities reach constituents; scale up a project when it crosses political and geographic borders; involve businesses that want mutually beneficial outcomes; and bring to the table additional resources and donors who share same passion.

Most important, they are confronted with the issues of how to continue past their lifetimes, the philanthropic work that they started and how to ensure that another member of their family will be as committed and dedicated to the cause. Should it be through younger members of their families or through an external entity? In short, "How do we sustain our philanthropic aspirations into the future?"

Passing the Baton to G2, G3, G4 and Beyond

Data2, a grandson to the founder of the Lien Foundation, noted that he is G3 and is preparing the G4 generation to eventually take over the reins. He involves his children, nephews, and nieces in the G4 generation by giving them the financial resources to get their feet wet in the world of philanthropy. "The idea is to use the few who show leadership to rally their cousins. Later generations have it even more challenging: you must find, decide, and focus. You need to entrust the board; choose the right family members to take responsibilities."

Strategizing how to solve problems at the root and carrying out philanthropic corporate work require both commitment to good planning and a professional staff, as Data10 emphasized,

> We are looking broader than our "Jia Shiang" (ancestors' home village) from the early days of our giving. Our generation is evolving it further into the future, with adoption of western techniques of "solving roots problems" and with a full professionalized staff and team. We are thinking deeply on strategy, rather than just doing haphazardly on your own. Hence, professionalized staff is without doubt what we need to have. We are still figuring it out. It is not easy.

Data12 explained why he finally decided to conduct his personal giving through the family foundation, the Chua Foundation, and his corporate giving through the Ho Bee Foundation:

> It was not just about getting out of being reactive or being overwhelmed as my giving got bigger and more extensive, my thinking is that when you are doing all this good work, the sustainability is important; either you create a giving culture in your family or a giving culture in your group. The sustainability is very important. The responsibility after you give money is to think how to sustain it into the future. So, by starting the Chua Foundation, I've tried to create a culture of giving in my family. The Chua Foundation is established in my mother's name to involve not only my own children but that entire generation, i.e. including my nieces and

> nephews, to institutionalize philanthropy among my family members into perpetuity. This also gives them the purpose to work together as a family towards a common purpose.
>
> Similarly, by providing company time for my employees at Ho Bee to volunteer, I help to create a culture of giving and community spirit/work engagement in my Ho Bee group of people. If everybody does that it will be a society that helps one another. It will be a different country for Singapore. In America, the legal system and tax laws cause people to give out of "necessity" — e.g. the capital gains tax is penalizing, so it forces people to think about giving as an alternative to being taxed less.

Without doubt, Tan Chin Tuan is the family's philanthropic legacy, as Data9 shared,

> Though when we think of his philanthropy we tend to think of the date when his foundation started, but I think the Foundation was just the vehicle of corporatizing his philanthropic work. His giving and philanthropy were started already much earlier. Having institutionalized the Tan Chin Tuan Foundation, it is no longer just Tan Chin Tuan deciding (he is passed away now). There is now a process in how we make decisions for philanthropy: being cognizant of each family members' priorities and preferences.

Data5 also agreed that there is great responsibility in passing on the work and getting the next generation to be involved and interested. "I am also trying to institutionalize these endeavors as my family traditions and make it a point to keep my children informed and encouraging them to join in if they wish . . . hoping that these family traditions will be passed on to the next generation over time."

Data6 reflected on how the earlier generations were so virtuous and passionate in carrying out philanthropy but never made plans for continuity:

> Tan Kah Kee never prepared the passing down of his own legacy. When he left Singapore, he was still writing to Lee Kong Chian and other uncles asking for money. Tan Kah Kee needed more money. The amount of money he asked was not small to build the school, repair damaged school by typhoon. So, his son-in-law, Lee Kong Chian had to hold meetings to

> find the money. For example, LKC also "borrowed to give." Many of his students are already in their 80s and 90s today but are very affectionate to Tan Kah Kee (though he died in the last century). His legacy is more of his students and anyone affected by him — they still hold conferences and events to commemorate, and they write books about him. They continued his legacy in this way.

It was Tan Kah Kee's son-in-law, Lee Kong Chian, who in his later years realized his giving and philanthropy must be structured and institutionalized for it to be sustainable into the future, hence the formation of the Lee Foundation. When setting up the Lee Foundation in 1952, shortly before his retirement in 1954. The Lee Foundation was split into two entities — one in Singapore and one in Malaysia — which turned out to be very helpful to circumvent local legal structures so that funds could benefit projects both in Malaysia and Singapore. [12]

Influencing Others in the Community to Take Philanthropic Action

In 2015, Data2 started the Asia Philanthropy Circle (APC), seeking mature, experienced, and progressive philanthropists who were committed to fostering partnerships and collaboration and to using the APC as a platform for joint philanthropic action to accelerate public good and social impact in Asia. Data2 senses that the future of Asia may be significantly at risk because of the multitude of complex and interconnected social challenges around us — challenges that governments struggle to contain, that private enterprises often choose to ignore, and that civil society organizations are ill equipped to tackle. Therefore, Data2 is on a mission to secure a sustainable future for Asia and has cofounded the APC as a membership platform, registered in Singapore, so that Asian philanthropists can jointly increase the impact of their philanthropy and

[12] Huang, 82.

catalyze Asian philanthropy.[13] Many in the membership are next generations with diasporic heritage. Moreover, they and their families already have deep roots of philanthropic engagement with social issues inherent to Asia.

Data12, who has set up both a family foundation and a corporate foundation, takes very seriously the business of creating a culture among Singaporeans to address the sustainability of philanthropy past his lifetime:

> With a hope to nurture a Singapore identity and sense of belonging, and hence naturally hope this will help in nurturing a local culture of volunteerism and philanthropic action, starting with my employees. Ho Bee Foundation gives to society's needs and nurturing culture. Other programs that he has also drawn up to involve the entire Singaporean population through other institutions e.g. at the National University of Singapore, he has donated to create programs for giving recognition, encouragement from leadership to nurture volunteerism, community/civic engagement, hence creating a culture in Singapore communities to sustain philanthropic action.

Data18 had earlier kept a low profile as a donor to his alma mater, Nanyang Business School. Former school mates soon found out about it and approached him, and he began giving advice as a donor and showed them how they could also return their gratitude to their alma mater too. Soon, he realized that he could play a more "activist" role by being featured in newsletters, media articles, and church publications when he talked and educated the public about his philanthropy, thus helping friends, colleagues, and others onto a path of philanthropic action. So Data18 is starting to see his role in influencing others to participate in philanthropy.

Data6 stressed that Tan Kah Kee had a charismatic personality and that his own philanthropic action for education was so charged with passion, ardor, and commitment

[13] Asia Philanthropy Circle, *Our Story: A Platform by Philanthropists for Philanthropists,* http://www.asiaphilanthropycircle.org/our-story (accessed August 5, 2018).

that he inspired others to join in his quest. Envisioning a university to serve Chinese education in Southeast Asia, his contemporary Tan Lark Sye and others (Tan Kah Kee had by this time returned his motherland China, to retire) fulfilled his dream of having Nanyang University. Tan Kah Kee's idea and vision became Tan Lark Sye's aspirations, who took upon himself the task of mobilizing a campaign for this cause across the Nanyang region, calling on all diasporic Chinese and ethnic Chinese to come out to support Chinese education in the early 1950s. He pledged a gift of SGD5 million, in addition to mobilizing 550 hectares of land (from the Hokkien Clan) and instigated a Chinese community fundraising campaign to build Nanyang University in Singapore in the 1950s. Data6 shared this story:

> Tan Kah Kee shone his light on Tan Lark Sye to cause him to rally the rest of the Chinese community (while Tan Kah Kee was in China). Tan Kah Kee's beacon of light was so strong, it affected many people. Tan Kah Kee passed his legacy by action into people like Lee Kong Chian, Tan Lark Sye, and the Chinese business leaders in Hokkien Huay Kuan . . . they got "infected" by Tan Kah Kee's philanthropic values. Once you have experienced or come close to the ethos of Tan Kah Kee, it remains in you for the rest of your life. You then become that light, and you pass it onto another person. So, although others might not have met the source, they hear and are given a speck of this light/energy of Tan Kah Kee through those who have "tasted" his energy, light, values, and morality.

Collaborative Action to Solve Massive Problems at Their Root

The ASEAN Community Impact Fund (ACIF) launched in early 2018 by the Asia Philanthropy Circle (APC) is a membership platform that catalyzes collaborative philanthropy for philanthropists to accelerate social change in Asia through high-impact interventions. For example, there are two sub-funds under the ACIF: The Thousand Days Fund Indonesia, which addresses stunting in Indonesia, and the Myanmar Community Development Fund. Data2 has rallied the "next generations" of the most progressive

philanthropic families to come together to achieve a greater impact from their philanthropy. This new ACIF allows APC members to pool their funds in order to address some of the most pressing needs in the region.[14]

Data9 agreed that there is a burgeoning desire to collaborate, but getting agreement on issues is very challenging, as people have different agendas and priorities and sometimes are not even on the same page:

> Some of my MP friends we are in this all together to conceptualize on how to build the community around the people: the community is one layer, the VWOs/NGOs are another layer, individual philanthropists are one layer, and then the government is another layer; so we are looking at multi-layered stakeholders.
>
> Some who want to do stuff outside of Singapore . . . start to realize the concept of scale. In Singapore, we are 5 million. But when you look at Cambodia, Indonesia, and Philippines . . . there's a lot of people there. But you can never get the homogeneity in all issues; everybody's priorities are also different; understanding of the issues is also not on the same page.
>
> Value systems and mindset also come into play, e.g. Who would help prostitutes? Those vulnerable may not have chosen to go into it based on their own values, it could have been they were forced into it or slipped into it under unfortunate circumstances — some have no choice.

Coping with the size of some of the problems can also be a handful. Data9 asked, "What role do I have in giving this money for gargantuan issues that is not even in my country? Take for example, the Rohingya issue in Myanmar." Data9 tends to think staying closer to home may be more practical, influential, and meaningful.

With a gift of US$115 million to Caltech, Data20 brought disparate entities in the university together, and in a collaborative spirit, they joined efforts to establish a new institute for neuroscience research. He explained the rationale behind his giving:

[14] Asia Philanthropy Circle, *Our Story: A Platform by Philanthropists for Philanthropists.*

> The goal of the new endeavor is to deepen our understanding of the brain — the most powerful biological and chemical computing machine — and how it works at the most basic level as well as how it fails because of disease or through the aging process.[15] Central to the initiative is the creation of the Tianqiao and Chrissy Chen Institute for Neuroscience at Caltech, where research investigations will span a continuum, from deciphering the basic biology of the brain to understanding sensation, perception, cognition, and human behavior, with the goal of making transformational advances that will inform new scientific tools and medical treatments.
>
> The vision of the Chen Institute is for translating insights into the fundamental biology, chemistry, and physics of the brain into a deeper understanding of how human beings perceive and interact with the world, and how technological interventions can improve the human experience.[16]

Maintaining Harmony and Balance in Perpetuity

Over time, the G1 diasporic Chinese generation (originating from China in the early 1900s) has been sunsetting its role in philanthropy. Today, G2 and G3 are at the helm of their family's philanthropy and personal giving. Instead of self-actualizing and speaking of their own legacy, they are more content and concerned about ancestral actualization. The harmony, balance, and fulfilment they seek comes from completing their role as a link in the greater scheme of the human chain journey. Foremost in their minds is how to continually sustain the cultural traditions and do justice to the philanthropic action of their ancestors, and for all in their family to be in harmony with the ethos and spirit of the values handed down to them.

Data2, who is G3 and is preparing G4 to eventually step into the role shared the following comments and how they are maintaining harmony and balance:

[15] Tianqiao and Chrissy Chen Institute, *Unlocking the Mysteries of the Mind*, https://www.cheninstitute.org/en/focus (accessed August 5, 2018).
[16] Tianqiao and Chrissy Chen Institute for Neuroscience, *About the Institute*, http://neuroscience.caltech.edu/about (accessed August 5, 2018).

> Some family members want to do different things from the Foundation: you may need to align back to Founder's legacy. Or there may be a sub-family level; you are accountable to yourself too." This sorting out of differences and finding common ground and what/how to do must always time align back to their ancestors' and founder's legacy.

The reason Data10's family spends so much time defining their five values is based on the family's belief that maintaining harmony and balance for ancestry and family is the crux of sustaining their philanthropy into the future. That is, sustainability of philanthropy is a function of the values that are infused into the family and ancestry because their worldview is one that stems from Confucianism: "There are 5 values that we have distilled as our family values and they are inspired by Confucian values . . . . I hope our Confucian values don't get lost as we go about adopting western techniques in philanthropy. I worry about it sometimes."

Data15 had earlier shared that her family did not feel the need to form a foundation to institutionalize the philanthropic values. Confucian values already carry philanthropic values of benevolence, beneficence, and love of humanity. For so many generations, ancestral traditions and practices have proven to keep the Confucian values being passed from one generation to another, providing the gravitational force that anchors the family to the ancestry. Data15 and her siblings have learned to be philanthropic through the daily philanthropic actions of their parents, which she shared were effective in cultivating the virtues of compassion, gratitude, benevolence, and generosity.

Here are some of the memories that she recalled of her parents' philanthropic action that is beyond the giving of money:

> Dad treated his workers very well . . . he was on the Committee of the Community that helped people with all kinds of people for access to education, medical aid, he started to give to hospitals for immigrants, health care and more . . . mom was a housewife but was kind and treated all people fairly . . . helpers, relatives, neighbors . . . she treated them with equality.

Data15 and her family are confident that their children will model their parents in this regard, and so it goes on, with each generation understanding their role as a link in the ancestry and the overall everlasting journey of mankind. In a similar way, Data3 also feel that their family is already steeped in Confucian values that encompass benevolence, doing good deeds, and helping others in need. For generations, their ancestral actualization has kept harmony in the family and perpetuated philanthropy in the next generations.

However, in a different sense, Data8's religiosity is layered onto her Chineseness. Her Catholic faith gave rise to the mission of her foundation, which sends a strong message about her religious values: "The Foundation's mission is to put God's love into action by creating lasting solutions to poverty and social injustice." Data8 has made it clear: "I have strong views about what it means to be a practicing Catholic: I allow the Lord to use me as a vessel to do his work. My faith gives me purpose for what to do and how to act in daily life." Concurrently, maintenance of balance and harmony with ancestry-actualization is infused into her values: "My new foundation is named after my mother — the Khoo Chwee Neo Foundation. I suppose it also reflects my Chinese or family values to honor my mother who always reminded me to take care of and help the poor and needy.

Although Data12 is steeped in Confucian values with benevolence already built into him, motivations outside family and ancestry also fuel his desire for harmony and balance in philanthropy. As a first generation G2 ethnic Chinese born in Singapore and an avid community leader, Data12 takes responsibility for engendering a feeling of belonging as a Singaporean, hoping to instill in younger generations of Singaporeans the value of identifying with the Singapore culture. He explained, "This is so that in difficult times, Singaporeans will have a purpose to come forward to help in philanthropy." He is not only maintaining balance and harmony of his ancestry — by establishing the Chua Foundation as the family foundation because "Charity starts at home" — he is also establishing his corporate foundation, the Ho Bee Foundation, to create a culture of giving and volunteering among the employees. The employees work with other local community organizations and community centers in collaboration to create a Singaporean society that is philanthropic and passionate about volunteerism.

Data9's thinking about family and ancestry-actualization is strongly influenced by the direct contact he had living with his grandfather:

> The family part is more a cultural tradition . . . if you ask me to honor my father and my mother, it also extends to my grandmother and my grandfather. So, to me it is not so clear cut whether it is Confucian or Christian values. Since I grew up with my grandfather and know him as an individual, I try to emulate him as much as I can . . . it is my own personal relationship with him.

At the other end of the continuum, some interviewees cast less concern over what will happen after their time. Data14 has confidence that the next generation, in different ways, will be more philanthropic and do better in philanthropy, "My son is more generous than

I am. He has a rich father and I had a poor father. No need to plan anything in passing the legacy. He knows how to do it."

In terms of ancestry-actualization, harmony and balance, and reaffirmation of Confucian values, Lee Kong Chian clearly underscored his convictions and that of his descendants through endeavors such as these, according to historian Huang:[17]

- By building the Lee Kong Chian Historical Memorial home in China.
- By setting up the Furong Foundation in China in the hometown of Nan'an and carrying out philanthropic action in his hometown.
- By providing generational continuity for the next generation, Lee Kong Chian has ensured that his children, Lee Seng Gee, Lee Seng Tee, and Lee Seng Wee, will inherit and continue his values, vision, and passion for education and provide continued financial and moral support.
    - His eldest son, Lee Seng Gee, is credited with having made several big donations to the Fujian Academy of Social Sciences, the Quanzhou Overseas Chinese Museum, and the Nan'an Zheng Chenggong Forest of Steles. He also accepted Xiamen University's appointment as its adviser and honorary professor. The Lee Foundation also donated substantially to Jinan University for its doctorate program on "Chinese Language and Culture" as well as its "Centre for Research on Chinese Literature of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Overseas Chinese."
    - His second son, Seng Tee, graced the 1993 100th anniversary commemoration of Lee's birthday, in conjunction with the 50th anniversary of Guoguang High School, with the unveiling of a bronze statue of Lee Kong Chian. Seng Tee again went back with his wife to his father's hometown in November 1995 to launch the Lee Seng Tee Public Library and six other projects, including an art museum, a kindergarten, and the "Nam Yik Villa.'"[18]
- The Lee ancestral home was conserved as a heritage site in April 1998. During the 110th anniversary commemoration in 2003, this home was extensively renovated, another huge bronze statue of Lee was erected

[17] Huang, 92
[18] Huang, 86.

on a nearby memorial square, and a memorial hall was set up with display items flown in directly by the Lee Foundation.[19]

- Lee Kong Chian's own actions paved the way for this continuity when he allowed his children's names to be used for the naming of various key buildings in Xiamen University so as "to let my three sons know about this and, if I were to pass away, hopefully they would remember and continue to care for Xiamen University."[20]

The ultimate familial and ancestral aspiration of diasporic Chinese parents is for their children to plunge into philanthropic action within the context of their own generation (shown in the theoretical framework as green arrows, back-circling to Shaping Philanthropy) to honor parents (Sustaining Philanthropy in the theoretical framework). This kicks off a cyclical loop of harmony and balance as each current generation honors the previous generation in philanthropic action. Hence Data13 writes in his memoirs with great pride of his remarkable achievement in philanthropy during his lifetime and the ability to witness the sustainability of that philanthropy, with knowledge that his male heirs are independently directing the family's generosity into ancestry-actualization. Raising the family's philanthropy to the next level, his sons are now giving to countries outside their original motherland China. It is expected that Data13's sons will pass this practice forward to the next generation, blessed by familial harmony and balance in the continuous cycle of "Shaping Philanthropy" and Sustaining Philanthropy" in perpetuity.

In this vein, Data13's sons have made gifts to the National University of Singapore Business School where a new building, the Mochtar Riady Building, is named in Data13's honor, as a tribute to his exemplary life. Meanwhile, his sons have worked together in directing the educational initiatives that he cares so much about, including

[19] Huang, 87.
[20] Huang, 87.

donating to name the Mochtar Riady Auditorium at the Singapore Management University Administration Building and sponsoring the construction of the Mochtar Riady Building at Hong Kong Baptist University. His foundation manages fifty-two schools and three universities, as well as a nanotechnology research center, which bears his name. Data13 finds the values he has instilled in his male heirs to be ancestry-actualizing, which he sees as being over and above self-actualization: "Stephen strongly believes in giving back to society and insists that we give priority to fulfilling our corporate social responsibilities. These are qualities that fill me with admiration."

Summary of Findings

As diasporic Chinese settled into the local context as nationals and lost their sojourner mentality, they and their descendant ethnic Chinese began to expand their philanthropic actions to benefit others outside their familial and ancestral lines.

However, these actions are juxtaposed with their mandate to uphold the continuance of their ancestry and contribute as a link in the family lineage. While this was built into the Confucian values that the Chinese brought along with them, there was still a very humanistic survival instinct underpinning this perspective — protecting their minority identity. As much as G1 and their families appreciated the welcome they received from local communities to make it possible for them to settle as nationals, a part of them was still very "Chinese at heart". This attitude was reflected in their giving, which was China-centric. Even when they became settled in local communities in Southeast Asia, their philanthropy centered on their own kinsmen, clans, and dialect groups.

By the time of G2 and G3, there was an expanding continuum of Chineseness as they became more and more acculturated and assimilated as birth nationals. Their philanthropy mirrored their assimilation as their identity embraced more local sentiments, which teased out a unique philanthropic nature that ensured the survival of their ancestry "genetically". The latter was to become synonymous with what many today refer to as "Asian philanthropy."

Asian philanthropy is swiftly evolving and mutating, with various levels of Chinese values and traditions being retained, recycled, or reshaped as G3 and G4 millennials become more interested in venture philanthropy, impact investing, and social finance as techniques for realizing scalable social change. It is yet to be seen to what extent Chinese values, traditions, and ethos will be retained and incorporated into their philanthropic actions, or whether these tenets will be thrown out as new generations adopt more Western features along with the newly acquired techniques in manifesting social change through private support.

CHAPTER FIVE:
FORETHOUGHTS – ON THE HORIZON

Comparatively Speaking

While adopting and adapting Western techniques in their philanthropy, ethnic Chinese families and individuals are noting differences and challenges. In addition to their own underlying values, worldviews, cultural traditions, social norms, and historical legacies, the legal or political constraints of their countries may not naturally fit with Western perspectives in philanthropy.

Is there an "Asian way" to carry out philanthropy? The concept of Asian values or the term "Asian way" came into popular use under Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew and Malaysia's Mahathir Mohamad governance in the 1990s. They used it to describe a cultural predisposition toward collectivism, a rule-based harmonious society, with acceptance of a benevolent authoritarian regime, rather than individualism.[1] For example, this is shown in the Singapore government's extension of a 250-percent tax deductibility for donations to charitable organizations recognized as "Institutions of Public Character," or IPC, which signaled to the public that the government endorsed philanthropic behavior and gifts to IPC organizations.[2]

Since the 1990s, the Singapore government has also provided universities with matching grants ranging between one to three times the donation, depending on the gift size and whether it is an expendable or endowed gift. Today, the arts sector in Singapore has fiercely petitioned for government matching grants and have been successful. What are some of the differences between East and West worldviews and perspectives? What

[1] Ruth A. Shapiro, *Pragmatic Philanthropy: Asian Charity Explained* (Hong Kong: Springer, 2018), 7.
[2] Shapiro, 8.

Asian-centric values, traditions, ethos, or worldviews stand out to shape differently the philanthropy of diasporic Chinese and ethnic Chinese?

Asian "Giving Face" and "Saving Face"

Data1 shared her views about how Asian fundraising shames you into face saving:

> *Saving face* is something that is oriental (not just Chinese) which the Koreans, Japanese, Chinese, and other Asian cultures also succumb to. Having to lose face and keeping up with face is a value that is not the nice part of Chinese culture. This is the dark side of this Asian value/social norm: people commit suicide or do abusive things in the name of saving face or to save the honor of the family name; using social norms to put pressure on peers in the name of "face saving."
>
> People say they don't subscribe to it yet they practice it — or they succumb to it, esp. if you are "somebody" in the community. People give for a cause, without succumbing to public pressure and face-saving; give to support a cause, not to save face. Putting pressure on someone to give by pressurizing them based on "face" is wrong. They will tell you which family . . . which family has done a $1M, and you must save face and give $1M . . . otherwise you cannot be equal to that family; they'll also say they don't subscribe, but you turn around and they practice it. Their actions subscribe to it. This is a social norm that chokes and leaves a bad taste with the donor, but it works and is being practiced.

Data1 affirmed that the G1 generation was most affected by this face-saving social norm — biting the bullet and succumbing to the social norms for G1 as they were key businessmen during those times, as this was a way of getting goodwill for business and the support of workers from the community. Data1 noted clear differences in Western philanthropy:

> Society recognizes and respects what the donor wishes and at what level to give — more professionalism and more engagement, and finesse in cultivation. In the West, individual rights and actions are given space, and without having to uphold the family name and honor of your ancestors, this is less crushing or choking as a social norm. But I think even in Western societies, they also have the old boys club — you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours way of doing philanthropy.

> Similarly, in the West, relationships are important too, especially the old boys club again. But in the West, many transparency laws have been built into governance/checks and balance, and professionalization of the industry . . . so the "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours" is not so heavy-handed, but still exists.

Familial and Ancestral Memory

Data2 discussed familial and ancestral memory perspectives in the context of philanthropy:

> Family being involved is very important; must keep the ethos & values of previous generations, and especially the founder. What did my founder stand for? Keeping the honor of the founder is a priority in view of ancestry vs. legacy of the individual as in the West, where the US foundations became professionalized and independent very quickly. For the Asian/Chinese foundations — the legacy of the founder is more honored, and his values adhered to closely (or founder jumps out from his grave!).

When Asians are asked to introduce their foundation or giving program, they are most likely to talk about the source of their wealth, and they humbly designate the source as being the father, the grandfather, or someone else in the family other than themselves. Asians tend to remember the source of their current wealth as coming from someone before them in the family. It is natural to name and honor their founder's generosity, whose values they must carry on as part of ancestral wisdom, like a beacon of light that must never be extinguished. As stewards of this ancestral beacon of light, younger generations are careful to ensure that, in the programs and activities they fund, their founders' values (sometimes including programs and activities) are maintained and acknowledged.

On the contrary, Westerners introduce the background of their foundation (which may or may not acknowledge the source of the wealth and who made it possible) and go

on to passionately share how the present leaders envision the work of the foundation. They do not feel heavily obliged to just carry on what has been done in previous generations and feel empowered to change the course of a foundation's programs and activities if they are no longer relevant, impactful, or pertinent in the context of the times. Instead, return on investment (ROI) is front and center in their giving.

In the West, legal and financial laws in the United States for example, make it possible for a robust third sector that is very much independent, allowing check-and-balance governance in private foundation structures. Data2 comments,

> In Asia, the assets of the company and personal funds are all conglomerated. Foundation assets are also corporate assets (all nested together). So, individual wealth and company wealth tends to be tied together and is very acceptable. Individual wealth is the family's wealth and vice versa. In the US, there is a separation of Company and Foundation assets.
>
> During G1 generation, it was a social expectation/norm where philanthropic values were based on Confucianism values: those who can must do more [in mutual aid and self-help].
>
> The Chinese diaspora community spirit during those G1 days under colonial rule galvanized business leaders to bond as minorities to maintain their identity; hence we see them coming together to campaign under a compelling vision to build Nanyang University — the first Chinese university outside of China. In the West, the private sector drives volunteerism from the ground up.

On "Directed Philanthropy," Data2 shared,

> Increasingly in Singapore and China, philanthropic action is collaborated with government, seeking the right choice of partners. In the West, it is historically based on values of the church, hence coming from social justice and rights of the individual point of view.
>
> Singapore/China government have a strong hand today in volunteerism and philanthropy and people see it as a cost of doing business, i.e. Government directs the philanthropy to align with government priorities, and the donor finances the gift (as directed).

Data12 expressed the difference between East and West in terms of "Family Values":

> Raising children in Asian cultures is family-centric; this carries over to their philanthropy, i.e. giving to family, clan, community first, then slowly moving towards the public. It seems very natural to start philanthropy from family (that's why we have the saying, *Charity starts at Home*), to your clan, and then moving out to your own community and public good for the country.
>
> In the West, raising children is not family-centric because I hear that parents kick their children out of the home when they turn 18, and ask them to pay rent if they keep staying at home — this is the opposite of Asian values. Perhaps therefore this carries over to their tendency of giving outside of family, i.e. for public good.

Data12 continued,

> Westerners tend to give outside of their family immediately. The public good seems to overrule considerations of giving to the family, the clan, community, state, country first. That's a fundamental difference.
>
> Here in Singapore, we engender Asian philanthropy rather than Chinese philanthropy. We want to see a lot of different races (since Singapore is multi-racial) doing their own good work. Sustaining philanthropy is critical for G2, G3 and after. We start by creating a giving culture at home.

Data9 expressed his views on Asian versus Western philanthropy:

> In solving the problems, we treat it more holistically by solving the many layers surrounding the problem. "Family" is the core difference between Western and Asian philanthropic action. Tracing back to the family where the problem first broke out, rather than treat the pimple you see. There seems to be more alignment between Asian and European philanthropy as it is community-based in the way we solve problems; whereas Americans invest in the problem.

Pragmatic versus Rational

Data9 feels that Asian philanthropy is not so ideological as it is in America where it largely drives and exercises civil liberties, democracy, and social activism, which seem

so fundamental to philanthropy for Americans. In wondering whether Western global philanthropy is a type of colonialism, Data9 commented,

> I give you food, so you will embrace democracy. American philanthropic action assumes that civil liberties (may or may not be present in Asian nations) must always be part of philanthropic action. Asian philanthropy in the early days was about providing micro loans and mobility to local communities, without robbing the government authorities around them.

Data19 sees Asian philanthropy as being more genuine and pragmatic. With the exception of Singapore, there is generally a lack of tax incentives for giving in many countries in Asia, which Data19 explained as follows:

> In Asia, philanthropy is more altruistic because these legal vehicles are absent in many Asian economic/legal systems, people give for pragmatic reasons. In the West, because tax deductibility has been there since the late 60s, a generation or two have been raised to think of philanthropy rationally in terms of benefits from tax implications, capital gains, tax shelters and more.

Data14 was quick to comment on ethical ethos differences between the East and West:

> I used to be able to conduct business based on "Gentlemanly legal system based on ethics — The Word is King." The gentlemanly legal system is gone; today it is a confrontational legal system, sadly — much influenced by the Western values of the American phenomenon where settling in court is costing us more to do business with lawyers' fees and a confrontational system. Signing lawyer papers/documents is not ethics.

Data19 also pointed out that in Hong Kong, there is an unspoken norm that the stronger should take care of the weaker. This expectation has been around in Hong Kong for a long time and stood it in good stead for growth, prosperity and more. Similarly, Judeo-Christian values underpin the value systems of the West; it also has values where the strong help the weak. Data12 shared this similar value that his parents (G1) taught

him about Asian philanthropic action: “Asians are always thinking like this, “If you can make it, you should always give back to society; you return to the source where you benefitted from. This is a Chinese value.”

G1 circumstances were different and perhaps those differences forced that generation to take philanthropic action or else perish. Usually leaders came forward to start the philanthropy and then brought along others in their same circles to help, ultimately with the help spreading beyond those inner circles. Data2 spoke about the pragmatism of the G1 generation, where there was a social expectation or norm that based philanthropic values on Confucianism values, in which those who could felt that they must do more and that it was their responsibility to take care of things.

East-West Values

Data19 summed up how these traditions are infused into the culture:

> Giving back the Asian way for Chinese diaspora and ethnic Chinese has its roots in Confucianism. For example, helping the unfortunate (benevolence), naming gifts after parents (filial piety) rather than name after ourselves, doing good to attain good karma for your family (longevity of the family/ancestry) instead of for personal legacy or personal fulfilment.
>
> There is less concern over the passing down of the practice of philanthropy which is talked about a lot in Western philanthropy. This is because we tend to have this built into family/ancestry structure and the family DNA and value system.

Data19 also brought attention to how diasporic Chinese and their descendants, even with Confucianism roots, reacted with flexibility to the cultural context of geographical environments, which played a heavy part in mutating, evolving, and shaping their family DNA. Therefore, how ethnic Chinese give (whether in Southeast Asia, Asia or elsewhere), what they give to, and where they give it may be at a distance from the

original Confucianism ethos and values. Data19 echoes the basis of this thought on the impact of social norms:

- *Thailand*: Ethnic Chinese give directly to Buddhist temples because they are much assimilated there and their Chineseness is very much "defaced." In a good sense, they do not feel it is a burden or conflict of interest to give to Thai-centric causes and the local community which is one and the same for them.

- *Philippines*: Chinese with Spanish influence and Catholic backgrounds are very generous . . . because of the incapacity of their government to help. They step in with compassion to give to help others, to help lessen suffering, and they are more charitable.

- *Indonesia*: Assimilation of Ethnic Chinese is not so complete and tenuous; therefore, there is clinging on to Chinse dialect and Clan groups — as a means of exerting their identity.

- *Malaysia*: Ethnic Chinese tend to give to their own clans' men, and they depend on Clan associations and Chinese Chambers of Commerce as platforms to mobilize and direct their giving back to Chinese communities.

- *Singapore*: Chinese are the majority and they don't have to assimilate. With ethnic Chinese leadership in government, the Chinese community has greater ability to freely express their Chineseness, giving to Chinese-centric causes including activities to promote and enhance Chinese language and culture. All clan groups come under the umbrella of the Singapore Federation of Clans.

Several respondents shared that in Asia, G1 wealth is seldom totally clean. Hence Asians don't want to attract the attention of their governments, and for their own personal security, they keep a low profile when giving. They prefer to quietly make the gift without attracting attention. Western donors want to receive recognition and attention as it does not "cost" them anything down the road since their legal and social systems do not come back to haunt them.

This brings up another preference related to the style of an ask or request for a philanthropic gift or donation. In general, Asians shy away from being confrontational, and that ethos carries over to philanthropy, in that the request for a donation is done more subtly and less direct. According to Asian humility and benevolence, the Asian ask is more along the lines of a suggestion to "do good," while at the same time, the donors most likely want to honor their family and pay respect to their ancestry and elders.

There is also the matter of humility that stems from Confucian virtues. That is, we assume the learner is never "full or all knowing" and hence warns about the trap of conceit, appealing to one's constant need to self-improve; whereas Western values propagate self-esteem and self-confidence in learning.[3] Data19 lamented,

> Bill Gates and Warren Buffett's Giving Pledge is very much misguided by their seeking out Asians to "declare their wealth" and pledge to give more than 50% of their wealth in a manner that does not take into consideration many Asian cultural norms, values, and ethos.
>
> Not only is this going against the grain of virtues of humility, in many Asian families, an individual's wealth is the family's wealth and vice versa, so it is sometimes difficult for them to tell you the quantum that is in one's personal name. In many Asian countries what a person owns is still quite opaque and the wealthy do not want people to ask or know, "what amount is 50% of his net worth?"

Discussion and Implications

We are at the crossroads and convergence of a rising generation of Asian philanthropists who are steeped in East-West values. Diasporic Chinese (G1) who became wealthy sent their children overseas to study in Western-centric high schools and universities in United States, Canada, United Kingdom, and Australia. Their ethnic

[3] Jin Li, "Humility in Learning: A Confucian Perspective," *Journal of Moral Education* 45, no. 2 (April 2, 2016): 147–65, https://doi.org/10.1080/03057240.2016.1168736.

Chinese children and grandchildren are raised in UHNW traditional Asian families that aspire to retain their Chinese heritage, culture, and customs, but at the same time become well versed in Western perspectives, lifestyles, and business customs. Because they were exposed to both East and West ideals and worldviews at a very young age and for a prolonged period, they are well placed to eventually fuse the best of the East and the West to develop a new paradigm.

David Scott Clegg, founder of UNITE Education and former managing director of The HEAD Foundation, has advanced the idea that the East and West could learn from each other's shortcomings.[4] Doing so could produce a new, synthesized approach that would converge and overlap in terms of East-West juxtaposition. Clegg, who has worked closely with educational systems in both the West and the East, has observed that Asian students are "kicking our butts" on the international exams where the total educational goal is the level of achievement on IQ tests. Clegg explained, "In the US, where there is not such an emphasis on performance on standardized tests [IQ], the result is far greater capabilities in areas of critical thinking, problem solving, communicating, collaborating and creativity [EQ] — the ability to relate to one another, create with one another. As with all things in life, what we are looking for is balance where standards, curriculum, teaching, learning, are all striking a harmonic chord in the development of both IQ and EQ".[5] Both knowledge and wisdom are required to complete the picture of what it means to be a thinking person in the twenty-first century.[6]

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[4] Andrew Heikkila, "What the East and West Can Learn from Each Other about Hard and Soft Skills," *AllTopStartups* (blog), August 25, 2016, https://alltopstartups.com/2016/08/25/hard-and-soft-skills.
[5] David Scott Clegg, "Why Asian Education Is Better, and Why It Is Not," *Huffington Post* (blog), September 5, 2014, 2, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-scott-clegg/why-asian-education-is-be_b_5695418.html.
[6] Clegg, 3–4.

In the same vein, philanthropy in the East fosters virtues, ranging from developing the impulse for compassion, empathy, love of mankind, benevolence, and charitable acts of kindness to karmic wisdom for perpetual longevity of family and ancestry, as espoused in Buddhist thought, Confucianism values, Daoism and Shinto rituals, and religious laws like the Muslims' Zakat and the Hindus' Dana. Western philanthropy today tends to be based on measurable outcomes, impacts, accountability, ROI, leverage, and sustainability, whereas many of the emotional aspects of giving are reduced to reports, timelines, evaluations, and data. It would be ideal if *Doing Good* and philanthropic action could find the balance between East and West and negotiating between the head and the heart.

Not Homogeneous but with Common Threads

The one moment in history when all diasporic Chinese shared the same vision and were homogeneous in their philanthropic action occurred just after they migrated out of China in the late 1800s and early 1900s, that is, the G1 generation. That was when they all came to the Nanyang bearing an intense sojourner mindset, with the mandate to return to their home village in China at the end of their lives.

Close to the end of the G1 generation, many had settled and became nationals in different countries, including Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Brunei, and Timor-Leste. Over time, they and their ethnic Chinese descendants became less and less homogeneous. With flexibility, they assimilated and became acculturated as quickly as possible to find a new land to call "home." In Thailand and the Philippines, diasporic Chinese and their descendants were very well assimilated into the local culture. In Singapore, the Chinese became the

majority and set the rules of Chinese-centric engagement. In Malaysia and Indonesia, assimilation was less successful.

Data9 added his thoughts:

> Asia is very large. Philanthropists tend to have Chinese ethnicity in Asia, and would that skew the data? We've also had several purgings of Chinese in the last century in countries like Indonesia and Malaysia; Chinese in Indonesia have always had to remind their indigenous leaders that they are Indonesian first then Chinese. Singapore is the exception as the Chinese there are the majority; it is unique in Singapore that the Chinese can express themselves as Singaporean Chinese and indulge with a greater sense of security.
>
> Being more anglicized than Asian in Singapore, our philanthropy and identity is not as juxtaposed as to Chinese or Western.
>
> I feel that philanthropy in the West sometimes comes across as hegemonic behavior, with an attitude of, "you need cultural adjustment, value adjustment, and a better/more efficient way to achieve such and such a level, so do it this way." Naturally, smaller countries don't come out to say, "we have a better way of doing things."

Data10 also stressed that Asia is not homogeneous: "To be honest, each family's style of doing things is quite different. I find it quite difficult to generalize this is the Asian way and that is the Western way of doing philanthropy. Each family's philanthropy is quite different . . . one cannot really generalize whether Asian or Western." Despite not being homogeneous, the interviewees shared that there were some existing common threads that bound the people.

For example, Data1 pointed out the universality of good values:

> *Family* is not Chinese — it is Asian. Muslims, Malays are very family centric, e.g. in the hospital. When one member of the Malay family is ill, ten people are sitting in the corridor — they are all ready, willing and happy to sit in the corridor for the whole time to take turns. This shows the family connectivity. In reversal, when Westerners turn 18 years old it is the milestone for children to leave home and not be part of the family so much anymore.

Data10 proposed a slightly different view: “At the end of the day we are all trying/aiming to address root causes of problems. I think the motivation of giving is similar but the way it is manifested might be different. For example, commitment to good planning: it is not Western or Asian philanthropy — it is a good way to carry out corporate work.”

Data12 brought up the need to take a helicopter view of philanthropy: “Sustaining philanthropy is critical for G2, G3 . . . so creating a giving culture at home to sustain philanthropy is necessary. Much the same for America and the West — this happened for them one century ago, earlier than in Asia.” Data12 believes sustaining philanthropy is a common thread that holds true and holds together the Chinese value system since it affects the longevity of a good family reputation and the perpetual nature of ancestry.

Generational Evolution

A couple of interviewees disagreed with making comparisons between Western and Asian philanthropy. They observe that it is more about hands-on philanthropy versus detached philanthropy. They viewed it not so much as differences between the East and West, but more about differences in the evolution of generational wealth. For both East and West, the generation that built the wealth with their own hands under very challenging situations and dire circumstances tended to be more generous, more hands-on, and more passionate about their philanthropy. They were willing to roll up their sleeves to make things happen in their giving and preferred to be deeply engaged with their beneficiaries, much like the entrepreneurs they were when they started their businesses and built their wealth from scratch.

Conversely, the generation that inherited wealth practices a more at arm's-length type of philanthropy. They are less passionate — just carrying out a "duty." Some are still finding their passion, and some grew up without knowing the source of many of the luxuries they enjoy and simply take such things for granted. Data16 explained her casual observation that there are two camps:

- Hands-on, operational, really go out on mission to find it. E.g. landmine victims in Nigeria were fitted with prosthetics and sanitation for their villages.
- I should do something but detached: generous but expect something back & does not want to do a lot of work.

Data12 sees it as quite natural that each generation has a different philanthropic focus due to the context of their times. For example, his parents came from China with a sojourner mindset; they had to strive to make a living, but it did not stop them from being generous of their time through mutual aid (e.g., his mother helped in nursing homes and temples; his father helped with clan work that enabled new immigrants from China to get meals, housing, and social welfare until they could find paying jobs, as well as education for their children). What meagre money they could afford to give was done within the Chinese community; that generation had a sense of philanthropy because it was mutual aid for the survival of the entire Chinese diaspora community — it was act or perish. In the old days, the G1 were passionate because they felt the responsibility to help their fellow countrymen from China, and as sojourners, their top priority was loyalty to their motherland. However, the new generation must deal with different priorities in order to succeed in society.

Shifting Sands: Flexible Identities and Global Citizens

Professor Wang Gungwu, a historian and expert on China and the Chinese diaspora, observed that diasporic Chinese and ethnic Chinese made a distinct shift to adopt multiple identities post–World War II:

> To understand them well, one must consider the whole range of identities they adopt — best approached through the ideas of norms (i.e. the way they respond and identify with norms which they regard as binding them as Chinese and others in their local non-Chinese communities). Before WWII, it was straightforward as to what is Chineseness: historical, traditional, and Confucian-centric, even it co-existed with colonial governments. However, after WWII, the Japanese occupation, a closed-door communist China coming into power in 1949, and nationalism arising in many nations post colonialism, the Chinese found their choices shifting. Horrifying stories of the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the brutalities of the Cultural Revolution in China brought new realities of the dangers of returning to China. The choices between assimilation and integration sounded more appealing, and these new choices called for a more flexible and more forward-thinking attitude towards culture and a new sense of Chinese cultural identity.[7]

Many also adopted flexible identities that shifted with remarkable elasticity depending on the social norms and the economic and political environment in which diasporic Chinese settled — Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, East and West Malaysia — as minorities and in Singapore, where the Chinese were a majority; some even had additional identities in the United States, Australia, and Europe. The following includes several perspectives shared by interviewees:

Data4 affirmed that:

> First movers migrated (before 1900s) and assimilated into British colonial culture and became very wealthy. They were acculturated and assimilated into British worldviews and way of life by the time the massive influx of working-class migration took place after the 1912 fall of the Qing Dynasty

[7] Jennifer Cushman and Gungwu Wang, *Changing Identities of the Southeast Asian Chinese Since World War II: The Ethical Challenge of Biotechnology* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1988), 1–22.

> in China. First movers were already a figure about town: comfortable in Western and Eastern societies, e.g. a financially successful diasporic Chinese presented to the Duke and Duchess of York in 1903, as a sportsman, sociable and of lavish hospitality.[8]

Data9 thinks deeply about his own identity:

> Living a Peranakan in lifestyle when we were growing up, my Chew father would remind us of our Chinese heritage (hard work, immigrants) rather than let us identify with Peranakan (old money, sitting around not accomplishing anything). Personally, I identify with Chinese ethnicity but with strong Peranakan roots and lifestyle. Additionally, I also identify with values from Methodist missionary and Christian spirit. While studying overseas (in the United Kingdom) and seeing how westernized values and practices were destroying the Westerners also reinforced my core Asian values. However, now back in Singapore, I identify with a Western-slanted education.

Data7 shared how flexible Lee Kong Chian was:

While still identifying closely with his Chinese roots and heritage and being loyal in his philanthropy to China, he also took to learning Jawi (Arabic alphabet for Malay, Indonesian). As a polymath person, Lee Kong Chian's learning power was insatiable — his home library was wall to wall where you could find references on any subject matter. Data10 had said that her family hoped not to lose the five heritage Asian values in their philanthropy, "We speak Mandarin at home. And I also speak Indonesian and English."

For Data18, his job and professional work takes him around the world, and he is flexible with several identities — first as Christian, second as Singaporean, lastly as Chinese. On the peripheral, Data18 also sees himself as Asian and a world citizen since his work requires him to live and work in different countries:

[8] Ooi, "Philanthropy in Transition: An Exploratory Study of Asian Women and Philanthropy in Singapore, 1900-1945."

> The new generation of Chinese migrants from modern China (since the 1980s) are totally different from their ancestors who had to flee because of internal push factors like abject poverty, political turmoil, and economic chaos. Instead, the new Chinese migrants who leave China today are wealthy and seek to live a global lifestyle as global citizens. Even among the current ethnic Chinese who have settled in Singapore or Southeast Asia, many have plans to eventually exercise options to settle in communities of their choice, for example, the Americas, Africa, Europe, Australia, or New Zealand.

Future Research

In recent decades, wealthy philanthropists in Asia have been very open about adopting "Western" techniques in their philanthropy. The rate of growth in wealth in Asia exceeds its ability to find its way into purposeful philanthropy and transformational social change. Undoubtedly, there is a dearth of effective and professionally managed pathways that could use the new wealth in Asia (gathering with such force, momentum, and speed) to address the gargantuan, voluminous and diverse challenges in Asia.

Where is the bottleneck then? The *Doing Good Index 2018* outlines the various factors that impede the wealthy from participating more fully in philanthropic action despite a strong desire to do so.[9] Additionally, the Global Philanthropy Environment Index (GPEI) at the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy has also identified the factors that enhance or inhibit its success of philanthropic action across seventy-nine economies and eleven global regions.[10]

It has been pointed out for many years that the ecosystem for civil society and private action in Asia is embryonic, nascent, patchy, and in some areas nonexistent. Thus, there is a dearth of exemplar organizations in the social sector with demonstrable track

[9] Center for Asian Philanthropy and Society, *Doing Good Index 2018*, http://caps.org/our-research/doing-good-index-2018, (accessed August 2018).
[10] Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, *Global Philanthropy Indices.*

records to deliver paradigm shifts, create opportunities, or innovate entrepreneurial self-sustaining solutions on the ground. There are very few social delivery organizations, social entrepreneurs, or NGOs that could gain the trust of philanthropists. In fact, it is common in Asia for foundations or philanthropists to operate their own social programs (medical missions, schools, agriculture programs, etc.). Time and again, Asian philanthropists have expressed a lack of trust and confidence as a significant impediment to increased giving to the social sector.[11]

Structurally, this is made worse by the fact that there are seemingly no clear career paths and equitable competitive salary structures to attract the best into the field. No central authorities or institutions yet exist that investigate topics such as setting definitive standards, collecting data for analysis and decision-making. The data, even when available on the ground, are not standardized, which makes comparing "apples to apples" difficult; hence it is almost impossible to make sense of the depth and nature of the problem at hand. On the ground, it is an endless cycle, going from one choke point to another and encountering a ripple of mechanisms that have not been fired or set up yet.

Perhaps future research will more clearly articulate what is being sought and bring together an understanding with multilevel partners that include governments, the private/business sectors, public sectors, and emerging players in the social sector. Future research could document the range of what's existing on the ground and recommend an outline for the process to build an ecosystem, since wealth and the desire for philanthropic action are not actually in decline. Certainly, there are challenges – and they are multilayered and stratified – which will require peeling back one layer at a time.

[11] Center for Asian Philanthropy and Society, *Doing Good Index 2018*, 3.

Future research targeted at the UHNW will also help guide families and individuals of wealth who might be seeking platforms to optimize their wealth for the *Greater Good*. Professional research findings and evidence can create a rational platform and safe space to start a conversation, in which donor parties, government leaders, community leaders, and practitioners come together to explore and learn to adopt/adapt Western techniques alongside Asian cultural traditions. Such a dialogue will help shape a hybrid set of East-West values and place them in the mainstream of the philanthropic value system.

Most importantly, such future research will add value by presenting evidence-based findings, making recommendations, and facilitating a level-playing-field environment for government policy and public engagement to intersect with local civil society, businesses and corporations, and individuals who provide private support. Increased dialogue ranging from informal conversations to strategic brainstorming between the various sectors is needed to establish pathways toward shared values.

Future research in Asian philanthropy may be in a good position to advise how best to engage different generations of ethnic Chinese who may have had varied experiences and are becoming more heterogeneous and diverse, due to the different contexts of their times, historically, economically, politically, and socially. In addition, the pace of change is being accelerated by disruptions in technology, a growing number of social issues, and unstable politics in many regions. Before we have a chance to understand the issue of the moment, often it has already evolved into a different context. Perhaps future research can help people see their underlying commonalities and not allow

the great prosperity, socio-economic politics, and advancements in science, technology, and innovation pull them apart.

Future research should also investigate how the new and recent waves of mainland Chinese migrants settling in Southeast Asia own their Chinese heritage, particularly since they now alter their identities by choice and carry flexible identities to suit what they desire to pursue in life, work, and play. Research could address the following questions:

1. Are these new Chinese migrants philanthropic in nature, especially since they leave mainland China with wealth?
2. How do these new, flexible citizens of the world engage in philanthropic action? Where do their philanthropic loyalties lie?
3. For ethnic Chinese who have lived in multicultural settings when young, what values will guide their practice of philanthropy?
4. What and who and do they see as meaningful beneficiary institutions and individuals?
5. What kind of social issues and societal needs will they want to stand for?
6. With intermarriages on the rise, what will their bicultural offspring be inclined to be supportive of?

Closing Remarks

In the absence of timely alignment of disparate elements, the ecosystem wrapping around an "invisible third sector" remains ambiguous, making it very challenging to mobilize philanthropy in impactful ways to address social change that is much needed on the ground in Asia.

These “future research” recommendations are only the tip of the iceberg. There is so much to investigate about diasporic Chinese philanthropy, be it in Southeast Asia, Asia, the United States, Australia, or Africa. In fact, the diasporic Chinese are everywhere. As different research is done on diasporic Chinese philanthropy around the world, opportunities are needed for researchers from different geographic regions to share their research so that we can come to understand whether there is universality or generalizability among diasporic Chinese across the globe.

While ethnic Chinese are becoming more economically successful, studies about their implicit philanthropic impulse may reveal surprising new knowledge about what truly shapes their explicit philanthropic action.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Marina Tan Harper

EDUCATION

PhD	Indiana University, Indianapolis, IN Lilly Family School of Philanthropy Philanthropic Studies with minor in Anthropology, 2019
MA/MBA	University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH College Conservatory of Music and Lindner College of Business Arts Administration, 1996
MA	University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH College Conservatory of Music Performance Studies, Viola, 1994
BMus, *cum laude*	Ball State University, Muncie, IN School of Music Performance Studies, Viola, 1983

WORK EXPERIENCE

Senior Director, International Development, University of California, Davis
(June 2016 to present)

Founding Director, Development Office, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore
(April 2005 to June 2014)

Director of Annual & Special Gifts, Northern Kentucky University
(October 2000 to April 2005)

Assistant Director of Development, Chatfield College
(August 1999 to October 2000)

Development Manager, RISE Learning Solutions
(March 1998 to August 1999)

Development Manager, Cincinnati Ballet
(September 1997 to March 1998)

Executive Director, Kokomo Symphony Orchestra
(June 1996 to September 1997)

Manager, Vocal Arts Ensemble of Cincinnati
(June 1994 to May 1996)

PUBLICATIONS

Author of "Giving by Individuals." Chapter in *Giving USA 2016*.

"Funding Social Enterprises: Evidence from Cross National Million Dollar Data." Author and Presenter, National University of Singapore, ACSEP 2016 International Symposium on Social Entrepreneurship. April 2016.

"Beneficence, Reciprocity & Stewardship in Muncie." Author and Presenter at Hoosier Philanthropy Conference in celebration of Indiana's Bicentennial. Indianapolis, Indiana. February 2016.

SELECTED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

"Disruptive vs. Sustaining Social Investing." Asian Venture Philanthropy Network Conference, Moderator and Panel Member. Singapore. April 2015.

"Fundraising, Endowment, Alumni." Speaker at IBC Summit for Higher Education. Singapore. 2011, 2012, 2014.

"Advancement and Alumni Relations." Speaker at International Higher Education: Women in Leadership Summit. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. 2013.

"Ultra High-Net-Worth Philanthropy: The Good Journey." Early Scholars Research Roundtable Award, 2015 ARNOVA Conference, Chicago. November 2015.

Speaker and Presenter at 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th CA Pacific Conference. March 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013.

LEADERSHIP AND SERVICE

Chairman of 3rd CA Pacific Conference in Singapore (March 2011).

Charter Member and Council Member of CA-Pacific Advisory Council for Educational Advancement (2009 to 2014).

Board Member of Lien Aid, an International NGO for access to water and sanitation for Asia's rural poor (2011 to 2014).

Board Member of Association for Fundraising Professionals (AFP), Singapore (2008 to 2012)

TRAINING AND AWARDS

Grounded Theory Institute 2017 Seminar by Barney Glaser. Mill Valley, California. July 2017.

ISTR 2016 PhD Seminar in Stockholm. Invitation limited to fifty PhDs worldwide. Stockholm, Sweden. June 2016.

Lilly Family School of Philanthropy Research Award for Dissertation Pilot Study at Field Site. Singapore. April–May 2016.

Diversity Fellows 2015 Award, Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA). July 2015.

Young Leaders' Forum at NACC in Chicago, Illinois. July 2015.

Diversity Scholar 2014 Award, Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA). November 2014.

President's Award in Philanthropy (Nonprofit) awarded by the National Volunteer and Philanthropy Center (NVPC). Singapore, 2012.

Summer Management Institute of Chorus America, spring 1995.

TEACHING

Faculty, week-long in-residence program of CA Pacific Institute of Educational Fundraising, Melbourne, Australia. 2011, 2012, and 2013.

Faculty for "CASE on Campus" training in Singapore, Malaysia, Australia, and Hong Kong.